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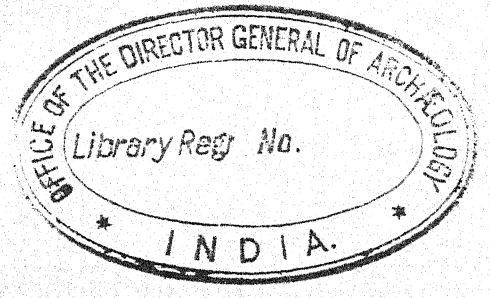
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Journal of Indian History

Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)

By

W. H. Moreland, C. S. I., C. I. E.

1623

January. On 6th, I despatched the pinnace *Heusden* to Admiral Dedel with all the remaining cotton goods for Batavia. On 27th, I moved into the new house, hired for four years for 1,250 mahmūdīs a year from Pahlawān Safīd.

February. On 14th, the assistant, Cornelis Arentssen, arrived with the caravan of 358 bales from Agra, in 61 days' march. On 26th, 'at night, fell from the house and broke my arm, after I had suitably entertained the English, at the instance of Anthony's and Sebolt's wives'.[1] Saw a dwarf, fully grown and well-proportioned, only 32 inches high.

March. On 12th, rain fell, to the general surprise. On 20th, despatched a caravan to Agra by way of Burhānpur. On 26th, two English ships sailed for Mocha, over-loaded with freight goods. One of them, the *Whale*, heeled over[2] and sank about three kos off shore, with the loss of about 38 men. The vessel contained large quantities of Persian silk, indigo and cotton goods, as well as much private trade.

June (April and May blank). On 12th, the Gujarāt ship which had sailed for Achin 20 days before, returned in consequence of bad weather. A ship arrived from Catsini in Arabia Felix, belonging to the King, who sent me a letter with a piece of cloth. On 22nd, ' I dreamed of many great pearls, and that I was fighting hand to hand with my uncle, Hans van den Burgh, with knives. God Almighty knows what this signifies; hope all well'.

1. Anthony Classen and Sebolt Wonderar were two factors on the Dutch staff in Surat.
2. See *EF.* ii. *passim.*

On 24th, 'there was a battle[3] between Abdulla Khān, General of Sultān Khurram, and Safī Khān, Nāhir Khān, Abdulla Bab [?Bābū Khān] and other *umra*, Generals of the King, his father. It took place about three kos from Ahmadābād, which Abdulla Khān intended to take by force. But for the confusion caused by one of his elephants, which was wounded by a musket ball, he would certainly have won the battle, although the King's forces were quite three to one; but, owing to the elephant, he was defeated, and not more than 2,000 men out of 5,000 escaped'.

July. On 4th, Abdulla Khān entered Surat with about 700 horse. They plundered many houses, and tortured all the King's adherents.

August. [On 26th, van den Broeke again fell out of the window of his house. The passage is very obscure, but there had been a party, at which President Rastell was present, and van den Broeke got drunk. Apparently he had a very narrow escape of being killed].

September. On 16th, a royal force, about 3,000 strong, under Bahādur Khān, came from Ahmadābād to take over the fort at Surat, which was held for Prince Khurram.

October. On 1st, the *Schoonhoven*, sent out by the Amsterdam Chamber, arrived from Holland, along with the English *William*. On 3rd, senior factor Wolbrandt Gelynssen de Jongh[4] landed. The voyage had taken eight months and 20 days; Dirck Everssen was master; the ship was of 600 tons' burden, with 20 guns, and brought a handsome capital. The pinnace *Naerden*, which had also been consigned to me, was wrecked on the voyage, but the crew, the cash, and some trifles were saved by the *Schoonhoven*. In all, six ships had left Holland,—the *Wapen van Enckhuysen, Leyden*, and *Mackerel* for Batavia, and the pinnace *Memelick* [*Medemblick*] for the Coromandel Coast. The *William* brought me a letter from our Directors, who had been on an embassy in England. On 7th, the pinnace *Heusden* arrived from Ormuz, in company with an English pinnace. On 12th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* arrived from Batavia with a rich cargo, senior factor Claes Pieterssen Puynder being President. The voyage lasted two months and three days. On 13th, the pinnace or frigate

3. For this battle and the subsequent movements see Introduction to *EF*. ii p. xxviii. Safī Khān became Nawāb Safī Khān.

4. This factor subsequently wrote a long description of Gujarāt, some extracts from which were printed in this *Journal* (April, 1925); the full Dutch text was issued by the Linschoten Society in 1929.

Broach, arrived from Broach, where it had been built. On 22nd, our 80 bales of cotton goods were passed through the customhouse to everybody's astonishment; the English were very much annoyed. The same day, the four English ships reached Swally with five prizes—two belonging to Surat, one to Dabhol, one to Chaul, and one to Malabar. It was understood that the English had intimated to the Surat authorities that they were resolved to make reprisals[5] on the ships in case their claims to compensation and better treatment were not satisfied.

On 28th, factor Francisco Pelsaert arrived from Agra with cotton goods, etc. On 31st, the fort was handed over to Khān Azam; the garrison were allowed to evacuate it with their baggage. In the afternoon the young Prince Bulāqī[6], son of the murdered Prince Khusraw, with his grandfather Khān Azam, arrived from Rānder, where he had halted for eight days with 18,000, horse and 20,000 foot. In the evening, the Governor, Safī Khān, sent for me to consult me about the English affair, and pressed me to sail next morning and rescue the King's ships from the English, so as to restore the credit of the Dutch, which had been so much injured by the depredations of the *Samson*.. I excused myself on the ground that I had no commission[7] from the Governor-General, authorising such action. This answer did not satisfy him; he said it was plain enough now that we were all one people, and he forced me to write a letter to the English.

November. On 3rd, we, like the English, were confined closely to our house by Safī Khān's servants, and guards were posted round the house. The same day he brought in five Dutch sailors and 20 Englishmen, who had gone some way inland from the ships. On 4th, I heard that our people in Broach were also closely confined, after the warehouses, chests and cases had been broken open and an inventory of the goods made. The same day the factor Hendrick Adrianssen, who arrived from Cambay

5. A connected account of these reprisals will be found in **EF. ii**, Introduction, pp. xxixff.

6. The family name of the Prince, who was officially styled Shāhzāda Dāwar Bakhsh.

7. From these and subsequent entries it will be realised that van den Broeke had a difficult part to play in this matter of reprisals. Naturally he was not sorry to see his commercial rivals in trouble, but on the other hand oppression of the English might form a dangerous precedent, to be applied later on to the Dutch. He was accused of duplicity by both sides; but all that need be said here is that his diplomacy resulted in a substantial improvement in the position of the Dutch in Surat.

with goods, was also arrested. On 6th I learnt from Francisco Pelsaert, who was on board the ships, that he had heard from Khoja Jalāluddĭn that the English factor Bangham had said openly to the Governor, 'However aloof the Dutch may keep, we and they are at one.' The same day the English sent for Alĭ Bassa, Khoja Jalāluddĭn, Khoja Nāsirĭ and Mĭr Jān Muhammād to negotiate with them. On 16th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* were sent to Persia with adequate capital. On 17th, the English again sent for the four Moslem merchants, but nothing important resulted. On 21st, news that factor Johan van der Dussen had died at Burhanpur. On 22nd, the English came to terms with the Surat Moslems. 'I was summoned by the Governor Safĭ Khān, who gave us betel, and permission to ship our goods as we wished. He sent me a suitable meal'. On 25th, 'I was again summoned by the Nawāb, who in a friendly way told me not to take it ill that our goods had been detained for so long, and our house guarded and watched so closely; the only reason was that the English themselves had persistently given out that we were at one with them, and now he saw the difference clearly. He bestowed a *pamrí*[8] on me, and gave us permission to trade in freedom at all places.' On 27th, Rastell, the English President, came on land; The Governor bestowed on him a horse and a gold *pamrí*, 'which afterwards came to cost him dear enough' This day our goods were put on board for all destinations.

December. On 19th, I sent everyone on board with the remaining goods; and on 21st, I followed to despatch the ship. On 24th, everything being settled, I returned to Surat. On 25th the *Schoonhoven,* with the frigate *Broach,* sailed for Batavia, fully laden with cotton goods—500 bales worth here 150,000 guilders. On 27th, the English *William* and *Reformation* sailed for Persia with freight-goods, and also much private trade (pepper, cotton goods, drugs, etc), 'by which the English Company's servants enrich themselves from the least to the greatest.'

1624

January. On 7th, returned on board the *Heusden,* which I had laden for Holland. The English pressed me to keep her back till the 10th, so that the *Dolphin* could sail in her company, because the sea is now so full of pirates. The Council sanctioned this, in

8. Light wraps, at this period usually woven in Kashmir, which were commonly given as presents

order not to give any occasion for discontent. On 11th, heard that Abraham van Uffelen, Director at Masulipatam, and nearly all the factors, had been arrested;[9] the remainder were closely confined in the factory; and the crew of one of the *Medemblick's* boats had been seized and placed in irons. It was said that van Uffelen had been most cruelly dragged to prison head downwards through the streets. The Moslems here said this was due to our having seized their ships; the English said it was because we had seized some Portuguese craft in the roadstead, thus infringing the freedom of the port. In the afternoon visited the English President to tell him we could wait no longer, and our ship was ordered to sail tomorrow. He promised me faithfully that [*the Dolphin*] would be ready in two days. On 14th the King's ambassador visited me to ask who had really seized the ships of Gujarāt, Chaul, Dīū and Goa. I answered, to put it briefly, that he should put that question not to me but to the Moslems of Surat, who knew better than I did. On 19th, the *Heusden* and the English *Dolphin* left the anchorage, and next day they sailed. The *Heusden* had Hendrick Adrianssen as senior factor and Jan Gilbertson Boon as master; the cargo was worth 97,000 guilders here in Surat. [The printed text adds: 'This was the first Dutch ship to sail for Holland from these parts'.]

February. On 6th, the English *Globe* sailed for Batavia; sent a letter by her to the Governor-General. On 16th, our caravan started for Burhānpur. On 19th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* returned to Swally from Persia, having left all the goods in charge of the factor Mibasse at Gombroon. There was no sign of any Portuguese shipping. Under my orders, no instructions having been received from Visnicht, the senior factor, they brought large quantities of freight, and also Dominigh, brother of Anthonny's wife.[10] On 20th, I went on board to arrange for discharging the cargo. On 24th, our caravan arrived from Ahmadābād, with 860 bales of indigo, cotton goods, etc. On 28th, the factor Adam Classen arrived with the caravan from Agra, 204 camels and 408 bales of Biāna indigo, cotton goods, drugs, etc.

March. On 1st, our goods from Agra, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach were all sealed [at the customhouse]. The same day a *farmān* came from the King to the effect 'that all the English,

9. See *EF.* ii *passim* for this affair.

10. Presumably Anthony Classen, mentioned above.

great and small, should be put in fetters until they restored all the goods belonging to the Moslems of Surat, Chaul and other places; further that they should then be chased out of the country'. In the afternoon the English house was surrounded, the inhabitants arrested, the goods inventoried and confiscated—also in Ahmadābād, Broach, and everywhere. On 12th, the *Vreede* sailed for Holland with cargo worth 125,000 guilders here, consisting of indigo and cotton goods—master, Jan Franssen, and Steersman, Jorst Janssen.

On 22nd, the English *William* and *Blessing* arrived from Persia. Immediately on hearing that their people were prisoners, they surrounded the three Moslem vessels which were ready to sail for the Red Sea; 'but when they saw the Prince's [i.e., Dutch] flags, which, at urgent request, I had sent with two men to each vessel, merely in order that business should not be hindered further, and also to show[11] that the false reports given out by the English at the time they seized the Moslem ships—they said that we were at one with them, and stood together with them, but the facts were now seen to be entirely different.' The same day, I sent the senior factor Francisco Pelsert with a caravan of spice for Agra, to take charge there as Chief, in place of Wouter Heuten, deceased. On 24th, I went on board the *Wesp* to despatch her. The English sent me a protest, which I answered next day to the best of my ability. On 25th, after despatching the *Wesp* I returned to Surat, partly in order to inform the Moslems of the English plans; when I did so, they were exceedingly surprised, the more so that President Rastell had already given them passes. They asked for a further pass, which was given to them without a seal. On 29th, the *Wesp* sailed for Batavia with a cargo of cotton goods worth more than 100,000 guilders. Learned that the Moslem ships had sailed on 27th, and that the English ships had moved from the river's mouth to Swally.

April. On 1st, I sent Adam Classen Verhussen to be factor in charge of the new factory at Ahmadābad and Cambay. On 27th, a Moslem ship of Surat left for Achin with a pass from the English. On 29th, the English *William* and *Blessing* left Swally, presumably for Batavia or the Coromandel Coast. In the afternoon, heard that the English generally were taken out of fetters, but still confined to their house.

11. The text is ungrammatical; the meaning is 'to show the falsity of the reports'.

May. On 3rd, the English President, along with his Council, was released, and sent to his house, which was still closely guarded, both inside and out.

June. On 10th and 11th, heavy rain fell, for the first time this year.

July. On 14th, the English regained their freedom, and their property.

August. On 19th, proceeded to inspect the factories at Broach, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Sarkhej, because my engagement was to expire this year,[12] and I required personal knowledge in order to give a satisfactory account to the Directors.

September. On 9th, I returned to Surat. On 11th, a Surat ship, the *Bigmy* [? *Begami*] arrived richly laden from Jidda. Heard that another ship, the *Romanny* [? *Rumnī*], which had sailed from Dīū on account of the Moslems of Ahmadābād, Cambay and Surat, had reached Goa,[13] rumoured to bring more than 2,500,000 rupees (of 24 stivers) in gold, silver and goods. There was general rejoicing at the news. On 12th, a *farmān* came from Khwāja Abul Hasan, the King's Secretary, ordering that all the English should be set free. On 15th, we heard that two 'Christian' ships were at anchor off the river. On 19th, Adrian Pallinch, senior factor of the *Dordrecht*, landed without orders,—surprising conduct, because disputes sometimes arise with the people on shore. The ship brought a rich cargo. On 23rd, I went on board. On reaching the strand, I saw that the other ship was the English *Blessing*, which had wintered off Cape Ras-al-hadd. They told us they had fought with four strong Portuguese galleons, and that the *William* had sailed for Batavia. On 25th, returned to Surat.

October. On 5th, the *New Bantam*, *South Holland*, and *Wesp* arrived from Batavia in company with the English *William*, bringing a rich cargo of spices and cash. Senior factor Harman [*should be* Albert] Becker was President of the Council, and carried the flag on the *South Holland* pending my orders. On 6th, I went on board to decide about the flag. On 18th, the English *Thomas* and *Eagle* arrived from England; Thomas Kerridge, formerly president here, was on board as factor. They had sailed under the command of John Weddell, on the *Royal James*, but the other ships had

12. He does not mention the fact that his engagement was extended.

13. Goa is probably a slip for Goga or Gogo, the port for Cambay.

remained behind to search for the *Royal Anne*, which sailed fully laden from Batavia[14] for England about a year ago, but near the Cape had been forced to make for the Comoro Islands, where she had broken from her anchors a few days before. On 24th, the two [English] pinnaces arrived; and on 27th, the *Royal James* and *Star*. The pinnace *Eagle* was at once sent to search for the *Anne* along the coast.

November. On 6th, an Englishman was accidentally shot by the sentry over the Dutch tent at Swally. On 19th, went on board to despatch the ships for Persia. In the presence of Captain Brown [of the *William*] and the other English representative, I examined the man who had shot the Englishman; we found that no blame attached to anyone. On 14th, I appointed Harman [Albert] Becker to command the fleet on this voyage; and ordered the *South Holland* and *New Bantam* to leave the anchorage, in order that the Governor Ishāq Beg[15] should come on board; he was procrastinating in the Moslem fashion, while awaiting his [?] caravan from the Deccan. On 15th, Ishāq Beg embarked with all his plunder on the *Dordrecht*, which I got ready for him. Next day this ship and the *Wesp* also left the anchorage; took a friendly leave of our people, and then of the English Commander, Weddell, who was very anxious to sail in our company, if we would wait for two days. Commander Becker asked me to see the Presidents in Surat about this, and find out if the delay was likely to be long; accordingly returned at once to Surat. On 17th I went to the English factory, and was promised an answer next day. On 18th, both the English Presidents [i.e., Rastell and Kerridge] undertook that their ships should sail on Friday. Gave orders to the fleet that, if the English did not sail on that day, they should proceed. On 22nd, all the leading merchants of the town came and besought me very earnestly to detain our ships for two days more for Ishāq Beg's goods, which would be put on board in the morning without fail; 'for very weighty reasons found it good to go on board and detain the ships'. On 23rd, I landed again, having seen that the English were preparing to sail with us, each under his own flag. On 26th, the fleet sailed for Ormuz. The Dutch ships were: *South Holland*,

14. See *EF.* iii, *passim*, for the misfortunes of the *Anne*.

15. Apparently this is the ex-Governor of Surat, who is mentioned frequently in *EF.* i, ii. The text says he was expecting his 'castle' from the Deccan; apparently the word is a slip for *Rāfila*, i.e., caravan.

William Jacopssen Coster, master, and *Sebolt Wonderar,* senior factor, 46 guns: *New Bantam,* Dirck Classen, master, 44 guns: *Dordrecht,* Simon Janssen Kuyn, master 26 guns: *Wesp* [? Garch] Hyde, master, 22 guns: crews and ammunition according to the usual standards for our ships in India. The English were: *Royal James,* John Weddell, Commander: *Jonas,* master, Clevenger: *Star,* master, Rowe: *Eagle,* master, Johnson: also two sloops equipped pinnace fashion, the *Look-out* and *Teck al* [*sic*: the actual names were *Scout* and *Spy*]...'May God Almighty give them a prosperous voyage, and victory over their enemies'.

December. On 1st, the entire English fleet returned, bringing no letter from our ships. They said merely that our ships had parted from them off Damān, because they had to return with the *Eagle* and two prizes she had taken. On 7th, the six English ships put to sea, with what object I could not learn. They put 20 guns on one of the prizes; the other was lost when entering the river, and nothing was saved except 35 Arab horses. On 21st, received a letter from Francisco Pelsert at Agra, telling that 'Prince Sultān Khurram had been routed by his brother Sultān Parvĭz and Mahābat Khān, with the loss of about 8000 men. Khurram had brought his elder brother's army to the point of flight, but one of his elephants, wounded in the leg by a musket ball, turned back owing to the pain, and threw his master's army into disorder, so that victory fell to the side of Parvĭz. Khurram and his General Abdulla Khan escaped with about 2,000 men: the rest, including a son of the Khān Khānān and the children of other nobles, were promptly beheaded, and the heads set on stakes on the battlefield for a lasting memorial'.

The same day news came that a fleet of Portuguese frigates, of 90 sail,[16] from Goa, Chaul, Dĭū and other places, had reached Cambay with the following goods:—

From Goa, 36 vessels, containing 130 pieces ivory, two chests *ganla,* or scented goods, 38 chests (each 5 maunds) silk, two candies wax, 10 maunds white paint, one maund China-root, 10 pots Lisbon oil. *From Dabhol,* two vessels, containing 8893 pieces ivory, 18 chests amber, 10 chests cloves, 5 chests vermilion.

16. The details given account for only 46 vessels, and may be incomplete; but a certain number would be fighting frigates not carrying cargo. I have not traced the word *ganla.* The number of pieces of ivory from Dabhol is suspiciously large, and possibly one of the digits is superfluous.

From Chaul, eight vessels, containing 189 bales ivory, 88 large pieces [? of ivory], 33 chests (each 2½ maunds) tortoiseshell, 10 maunds *nakasser,*[17] 103 bahārs tin, 143 pieces tin, two chests eaglewood, 37 chests porcelain, one chest white damask, 10 pots honey, 26 bahārs sandalwood, 35 pipes wine, 10 chests alum, two bladders civet, 88 chests other goods called *fotsi* [or *totsi*]. 'Formerly, before our coming, these ships used to come three times a year, with more than 300 vessels in each fleet; but now they come only once, with so small a total and so little merchandise'.

On 28th, the *William* and *Blessing* returned to the roadstead, having cruised until they judged that the whole of the Portuguese forces had gone to Ormuz.

1625.

January. On 23rd, there was a sharp, but short, shower of rain,—a warning against carelessly leaving the Company's goods in the open air.

February. On 25th, 'a Thursday, when through God's blessing, I reached the age of forty', the caravan of 450 camels from Agra *via* Burhānpur, in charge of junior factor Cornelis Arentssen; it left Agra on 14th December, so that it took two months and 11 days, because the country was 'full of war'. It brought 600 bales Biāna indigo, 264 bales refined saltpetre, and 36 bales cotton goods and drugs. The same day the English *Blessing* and *William* sailed for England, with Thomas Rastell, the President, on board; the cargo was Sarkhej indigo, Malabar pepper (bought here at 16½ māhmūdīs the maund of 30½ Holland pounds), cotton goods, and a large quantity of cotton at 100 and 110 māhmūdís the candy of 600 Holland pounds.

March. Between 1st and 10th, 15 Malabar vessels arrived here, bringing chiefly cocoanuts, coir ropes, opium [*sic*], etc. On 10th, the King's ship *Bigmy* [? *Begami*] was burnt; she had gone from Goga to Dīū to lade for Mocha. On 16th, heard that the Dutch and English fleets were off the river. On 17th, went on board, 'where I learned how valiantly our and the English fleets, after three days' fighting, had routed and put to flight the Portuguese *armada*[18] of eight powerful great galleons and 18 frigates.

17. *Nakesar,* the flowers of *Acacia Fannesiana,* from which perfume was distilled. I do not recognise *fotsi* or *totsi.*

18. See EF. iii, Introduction, pp. xff. The word 'volunteers' points to the Portuguese practice of increasing the war fleet by vessels provided by subscription.

The Commander, Albert Becker, was killed by a large iron ball in the first onset, and was buried at Gombroon. One powerful Portuguese galleon, that of the volunteers of Goa, and elsewhere mounted 70 brass guns, and was vice-admiral. The Admiral[19] on which Dom Nunis Botelho was Admiral, mounted 64 guns; the others accordingly. They came at our ships most valiantly, just two days before our fleets intended to sail: directly we were aware of them, we weighed our anchors, and in God's name went into the midst of the enemy. There was smart firing on both sides; the Portuguese were in such a hurry that they fired many shots without ball'. Our ships brought 412 bales of Persian silk, and an Ambassador from the King to the State [Holland] and the Prince of Orange; the ambassador had 100 bales of silk for his expenses. 'There was much shooting when I went on board, which was not very satisfactory, seeing how small was the supply of powder'. On 22nd, I went with Persian Ambassador to Surat. He was received with great honour by the leading men, and saluted from the castle; most poeple came half way to Swally to receive us. He was lodged in a large and fine house on the river. On 30th, I sent senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour, with a cassowary bird from Amboyna, on an embassy to the Emperor Jahāngīr to obtain a new *farmān;* he went with the caravan by way of Ahmadābād, at the urgent request of the Governor Safī Khān. The bird was much talked about; 'everybody wanted the honour of having it, in order to obtain the King's favour'. On 31st, the factor Jan Mibasse presented me with a Persian sheep with four horns.

April. On 5th, the English sent a small pinnace to Socotra, and on to the Comoros, to warn the ships from Europe of the Portuguese force. On 19th, I went on board to despatch the ships. On 20th, the English got news from Dīū that the *Anne* was off Mocha in great distress; thereupon they sent the *Jonas* to her assistance, and a factor to visit the Pacha, with what object I could not learn. Late in the evening President Kerridge warned me that the ship would sail early next day; he said his letters made no mention whatever of our people, which was hard to believe. On 21st and 22nd, was engaged in closing the books and preparing the invoice etc. In the evening the Persian Ambassador came on

19. Here the two meanings of the word 'admiral' occur in the same sentence; originally it meant the principal ship, not the officer in command.

On the *Dordrecht* I sent to the Directors of the Company th one horn which Muqarrab Khān, the King's Treasurer, me as a curiosity from Agra. On 23rd, the *Dordrecht* p sailed for Home with a rich cargo, along with the Eng- ; our Persian Ambassador was on the *Dordrecht*, and the ne on the *Star*. The *South Holland* and *New Bantam* also th cargo for Batavia, along with the English *James, Eagle* frigates. On the flagship, *South Holland,* Sebolt Wonde- senior factor, and Symon Janssen Kuyn, master. I ap- senior factor Constantyn Alleman to sail for home on the ht, accompanied by his wife Maria Gomes; Claes Peterssen was senior factor, and William Jacopssen Coster was On the *Wesp* Jarch Rynnierssen was senior factor, and lassen was master. On 28th, I sent the senior factors, Classen to Ahmadābād, and Wollebrandt Gelynssen to to take charge of the Company's business at those places.

y. On 12th, all the Malabar vessels which had traded ere driven back by a great storm; the wind continued to rongly from the south-west, so they were compelled to here. On 25th, two Portuguese frigates from Balsar for were wrecked here; five were lost on one, and nobody ed from the other. On 27th, 'at night, there was a furious ne in Surat; the wind blew from all points, and did great —trees uprooted, houses destroyed or unroofed,—so that abitants said nothing like it had been seen before. The Moslem ships in the river, though strongly moored, were on land high and dry. About 40 were killed in Surat and Broach. It was noteworthy that the storm did not extend Broach'.

ne. On 10th, heard that Malik Ambar, the Deccan Gene- ad seized Dabhol. Seven Portuguese vessels which had from Goa for Chinna[20] were driven back by bad weather off Comorin; three reached Chaul in great distress, the others ot been heard of. On 28th, I received a letter from the Per- mbassador at Golconda, begging me to supply two ships to the King's goods from Chaul to Ormuz, because he was in fear of the Portuguese; gave him a suitable reply.

[20] This may mean China, but it is doubtful if Goa was in a position to many ships there; the reference may be to some small place on the oast, where 'Chinna' forms part of the name of some minor ports.

September. (July and August blank). On 16th, heard that seven Portuguese galleons from Muskat had sailed for Bombay, to watch for the Dutch and English ships; but, since it was still too early in the season, they got what they deserved. First they were separated by a storm, and then one was driven ashore and lost near Damān, while the others had not yet been heard of. The wrecked ship had 55 guns, which I hear were subsequently recovered; many of the crew were lost in the boats or on rafts. On 17th, President Kerridge and I agreed to send some native craft to sea with letters to warn our ships against the Portuguese. On 21st, a Moslem ship arrived from Mocha; they had sighted no vessels near Damān. They said the English in Mocha had difficulties with the Turks, and consequently the *Jonas* and *Anne* were still there. On 23rd, heard that another Portuguese galleon had been wrecked off Bombay. Another Moslem ship arrived in safety. 'In the evening, there was a banyan boy having intercourse with a bitch openly in front of our door, and before that with a calf. Some boys do it, one after another, in broad day light, with she-asses, while the Moslems stand round and laugh. Our servants wanted to beat the boy for his misconduct, but his mother took that exceedingly ill, and abused them'.

On 27th, the Turkish Ambassador from the Pacha of Yemen in Arabia came to visit me; he brought a letter asking us, with many compliments, to resume trade and come to Mocha. Heard that Dabhol had been recovered by the craft of the ex-Governor Āga Raza. 'His wife had remained in the town with a handsome young daughter, because she had been born and bred there. Having got some of the inhabitants on her side, she made friends with the new Governor, and offered him her daughter in marriage, there being only *sondido*[21] to give. The brute tried to be rather mean, but such a rich girl—[*sic* in MS.] It was agreed that after two days he should come to a certain place, a mosque (or temple), with only one or two attendants, to be married by a priest or Mullah after their fashion. Meanwhile this loose woman had [?] armed everyone;[22] and as soon as the Governor came to be married, he was attacked and beheaded. Then, the alarm being given, she made herself master of the town with the help of the inhabitants and soldiers, with whom she had arranged—noteworthy as a valiant undertaking for a woman'. On 28th, the English

21. For this word see note under June, 1621.

22. This is the apparent meaning of a very obscure clause.

Jonas and *Anne* arrived along with the small pinnace which had been sent to the Comoro Islands, but had got no further than the Arabian coast.

October. On 2nd, heard that three Dutch ships from Mocha lay off the river. On 4th, went on board. The ships were the *Golden Lion* and *Heusden* from Amsterdam, and the *Walcheren* for account of Zeeland. Pieter Pieterssen was senior factor, and Jan Gilberssen master, on the *Golden Lion;* Anthonny Coetermans was senior factor, and Tuyms Isbrantssen master, on the *Heusden;* Gerret de Jager was factor, and Sent Symonssen master (replacing Panckras deceased), on the *Walcheren.* The cargo was over 650,000 guilders, chiefly in gold and gold ducats, also rix dollars, reals-of-eight, and Holland dollars, with little merchandise. On [a blot, ? 13th,] four Portuguese galleons with some frigates and a Moslem ship arrived off the river prepared for war. I at once warned our ships, and decided to land all the money for safety. In the afternoon heard the almost incredible news that six more galleons from Goa were off Chaul; four of them were newly arrived from Portugal, the other two had been in last year's battle, and had been sent to Goa to refit. The English President sent two factors to ask for help for the Anne; I at once gave them an order on the ships for 25 barrels of gunpowder and 25 men. On 14th, 'when the galleons with 13 frigates were off the anchorage, Jacob Mahieussen and Jan Mibasse, bringing all the gold and ducats to Surat, met on the road nine or ten Portuguese armed with muskets. If the Portuguese had been braver, they could have got the rich booty of over 200,000 guilders in gold from our two men, who were unarmed, especially as their frigate was close by in the river, only three musket shots away—undoubtedly a great bit of luck for our Company. In the evening, I sent the factor Wollebrant with some other factors in Moslem dress, and 25 horsemen, to the waterside to guard the rest of the treasure'. On 15th, 16th and 17th, the Portuguese were trying to enter the anchorage. I sent the factors with some Moslem soldiers to the waterside in case of need. In the afternoon heard that three ships were off Navsari. The Portuguese had left anchorage, presumably to join their three other ships, which were said to have come from Goa. 'The Portuguese Admiral, Don Nunez Botelho, sent an envoy to the Governor of the Surat fort with a letter addressed to the Commanders of the English and Dutch ships, saying that if they would leave the anchorage, he would allow them to do so in safety; otherwise, he requested that the Governor would [a blot; ? drive]

us out, and allow us no provisions'. Heard that at midday President Kerridge with his Council had boarded the Dutch ships to discuss whether they should pursue the Portuguese or not; our people replied they could decide nothing without my orders.

On 19th, people from Navsari said that three ships—either Dutch or English—had fought vigorously with the four Portuguese galleons, and then put to sea. President Kerridge came with his Council to visit us: agreed to go on board at once, and send the ships to help those three vessels. On 20th, the ships started to cruise to Bombay or Sanjan. The same day news came from the Mogul Court that an Ambassador had been sent by Shāh Abbās, King of Persia; 'hearing this, the Mogul gave orders that he should halt at Kābul until summoned. The Ambassador, notwithstanding the King's prohibition, sent his cousin to the court with a few trifles that were acceptable to the Mogul, who enquired after the health of his brother Shāh Abbās. The other replied that, thank God, he was perfectly well, but he asks your Majesty for three fortresses, namely Tatta, Bakkar and Multān. On this the King was so angered that he had the ambassador's cousin beaten with shoes so terribly that he had to be dragged out for dead'.

November. On 3rd, our three ships returned with the two English ships and the *Royal James,* having heard nothing of the enemy. On 4th, I went on board to try and arrange another cruise to Bombay, where I understood the Portuguese galleons were lying, because I learned that the *New Bantam* and *Good Fortune,* with the English *Bear,* had sailed from Bantam in company with the *James,* very weak in crews, powder and water: failed to arrange this. On 6th, these three ships, under Frederick Kitssiens,[23] reached the anchorage in safety; they had sighted the galleons to leeward near Bombay, but offered the excuse [for not fighting] that they had no water. On 14th, the English beached the *Anne* because she was leaking so much; she was refloated next day with the help of our carpenters. On 17th, I went to the English factory; it was decided that the ships for Persia should sail on 25th instant. The question of making a binding agreement was postponed. On 22nd, all the Moslems of the town met regarding the capture by Kitssiens of their Malabar vessel, containing their goods from Cambay, which had been brought into the customhouse. The vessel was first captured by the English *James,*

23. Spelt Kistgens in *E.A.* iii.

s then abandoned by her crew; this was the reason that
is burnt her. On 29th, despatched the ships for Persia,
taken on board all the freight-goods which were at the
ide. On 30th the English pinnace *Falcon* arrived. She
led with the other ships from England, but near the Comoro
had been driven by storms to Cape Comorin, whence she
coast. Near Goa she took a Portuguese vessel laden with
for the galleons—'which came exceedingly handy'.

cember. On 4th, the ships sailed for Ormuz, viz, *Good*
e, New Bantam, Golden Lion, Walcheren, Bear, and *Heus-*
id the English *James, Jonas, Anne, Falcon;* in all ten ships,
rnished with men, ammunition, etc.

(To be continued).

17

Half a Century of the Maratha Navy

(Calcutta University Readership Lectures.)

BY

SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH. D., B. LITT.

LECTURE III.

Kanhoji Angria—1698—1729.

BY the treaty or convention of 1713 Angria was obliged to let all ships belonging to Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the subordinate British settlements sail freely but the Bombay authorities also undertook to prevent any improper use of their flag by alien vessels. In 1717 Kanhoji's officers seized the *Success* a boat freighted by Gobardhandas, the Company's broker at Bombay. The vessel sailed under British colours and Boone demanded restitution. Angria, however, protested that the owner of the captured ship was not a British subject and the vessel, therefore, was not entitled to any immunity under the existing treaty. Without admitting the validity of this argument Boone permitted the broker to try private persuasion and a ransom was offered for the ship and its cargo. Kanhoji at first rejected the offer but afterwards agreed to make a gift of the ship as a token of friendship in consideration of a present of ten horses and a loan of twenty thousand rupees. Accordingly the *Success* was delivered to a captain and two gallivats sent for the purpose but as Kanhoji retained the masts and guns Boone refused to make the stipulated present and Angria's agent returned disappointed. Naturally Kanhoji considered that he had been deliberately deceived and Boone protested that the agreement had not been loyally carried out by the other party. This did not ease the strained relations and matters came to a head next year.

Early in 1718 Kanhoji carried the Company's Surat boat into Kolaba and took out its cargo of timber. He was palpably in the wrong and his defence is weak and halting. He did indeed plead a previous understanding about the subject but the fact remains that he had appropriated British property without their consent. The English however decided to temporise and the council resolved that "on consideration that we are not in a very good condition, being so bare of ammunition, soldiers and seamen

to perform anything with our arms, it is agreed that the President expostulate the affair with him by letter, and endeavour by that means to bring him to reason and prevent if possible such insults for the future." It was on the 3rd of January that the Council had come to this decision, it again met nineteen days later to consider a fresh aggression on the part of Angria.

The *Robert,* a country boat, freighted by Mr. St. John Bennet was on its way from Tellichery to Bombay when it was seized by Kanhoji and carried into one of his ports. On the fifth of January the master of the ship sent intimation of his misfortune to the Bombay authorities from Vijayadurg, where apparently he and his colleagues were held prisoners. Mr. Boone and his fellow-councilors were still unprepared to strike and "it was unanimously agreed as the posture of our affairs at this juncture are so indifferent, that Santipee Sinay, a Purvoo of the Rt. Hon'ble Company's and an experienced man in the affairs of the country Government be sent down to him with the Governor's letter and that Capt. Henry Cornwall who is already at one of his ports about the ship *Success* have instructions given him to expostulate this action with Angria. Captain Cornwall's expostulations were of no avail and Kanhoji refused to deliver the ship *Robert* as it was the property of a Moor. He added "that the ships belonging to Bombay, Bengal or Madras shall not be molested by him but that if the English will freight on country shipping they must expect that he will make prize of them". Captain Cornwall informed the Council that Angria "uses the English prisoners very inhumanely by continually beeting them with large bamboo to extort a confession that the said ship and goods belong to a Moor". The Council, therefore, decided to make a fresh effort to get the English prisoners released through the mediation of Ramji Kamathi, an influential Brahman trader of Bombay with whom Kanhoji had considerable financial transaction, without in any way committing the Government.

The capture of the *Robert* was followed by that of a Bengal ship, the *Otter,* Captain Dixon, and on the 5th April, 1718 the Bombay Council decided to break with Kanhoji. War was not formally declared but retaliatory measures were promptly taken. An agent of Kanhoji was trying to persuade the merchants of Surat to purchase his master's pass. The English Chief of Surat was requested to thwart his efforts; a trading Shibar, Khanderav by name, belonging to one Trimbakji Meggi, a subject of Kanhoji's was seized at Mahim and it was now Kanhoji's turn to protest. Nor was this the only grievance he had against the English. In a letter dated the 27th April, Angria made an elaborate defence of

his own conduct and complained that the English had on two occasions at least acted in direct contravention of the treaty. "And as to what relates to this matter further," wrote he, "if we discourse of differences, Ujain Tindall was a servant here and with leave went to his house and is not returned, remaining there, and Antonio D'Mell, Portuguese, went also to Bombay to marry and was entertained in Your service. About these two I wrote five or seven times, yet nothing was effected; and seeing You thus wanting in the Treaty, I left off writing. What guns and powder I want Your Excellency is obliged (by the Treaty) to furnish me with on my paying for them, and when my occasions required them. I wrote to You, but You excused Yourself till the Europe ships should arrive. I now well understand that the friendship of the English proceeds from necessity and is dissembled, which is far from being pleasing to me."

It is not possible at this distance of time to adjudicate about the justice or otherwise of these charges and counter-charges, particularly as our information is practically one sided. Kanhoji's complaint about munition must be dismissed as unfounded as the English had definitely declined any such undertaking when the treaty was concluded. About the sailors Boone retorted that one was an inhabitant of Bombay and the other a Portuguese subject and they were at liberty to give up their employment if they found it irksome. Without further details about the subject it is difficult to say whether Boone's defence was as sound as plausible, for such cases were definitely contemplated by one of the articles of the convention of 1713. It appears that Kanhoji was wrong in keeping the cargo of the Yatcht and the ketch after promising to restore the goods. But the case of the *Success*, the *Robert* and the *Otter* is not so clear. Khanhoji contented that alien ships hired or laden by the English were not entitled to his protection under the treaty and if this practice was permitted no native trader need buy his pass in future. Boone however argued—"Let the bottom be whose it will, the money lent on it is worth more than the ship." But the English had undertaken to "permit no ships or vessels whatever to wear English colours, but what belong to the subjects of English nation" and the three captured ships were apparently not owned by British subjects. But the unrestored cargo and the captured vessels afforded only the immediate excuse for war. The prosperity of Bombay and the future of British commerce depended largely if not solely on British ascendancy in Indian waters and it would be an idle dream so long as Kanhoji commanded the entrance of the Bombay harbour. The conflict was bound to take place sooner or later and Boone had been preparing himself for

the coming contest since his arrival at Bombay. Had he not been engaged in petty wars with two other chiefs of the coast, the Raja of Karwar and the ruler of Sawant Wari, the war would in all probability have broken out much earlier.

Long as the preparation had been the English fleet, as the sequel proved, was no match for Angria's armada. For one thing Bombay was not very well provided with naval experts and the command was often conferred on civilians who had no experience of the sea. The crew consisted mainly of lawless elements and discipline was not easy to maintain. Kanhoji enlisted his officers from all nationalities. Several Dutchmen had entered his service and if Clement Downing is to be credited some of the most notorious European pirates of the time willingly sought his employment. The exploits of the newly organised Bombay fleet under Weekes at Rairi and under Hamilton at Karwar had not certainly improved the morale of the crew, while the sailors of Kolaba had given a very good account of themselves in the late war against the Portuguese. Boone therefore wisely sought an ally against his formidable adversary. The most obvious person to be approached was Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Whether any alliance was actually proposed we do not know but as early as the 18th June the President suggested to Mr. George Taylor, Chief of Karwar, that he should inform Sambhaji that the English had no design against His Highness and they were prepared to lay down their arms as soon as the fortresses formerly belonging to the Raja of Kolhapur were restored to him. Technically the Portuguese were still at war with the chief of Kolaba and even in 1718 Kanhoji's fleet had engaged two Portuguese pals near Anjidiva. The two European nations could therefore be expected to make a common cause against their Indian enemy and Charles Boone proposed an alliance with the Government of Goa in June of that year. Although some specific terms were suggested in October by the General of the North, it does not appear that the Viceroy treated the matter seriously. Conde de Ericeira suspected the sincerity of the English and believed that they had helped Angria with arms and ammunition in his war against the Portuguese. Moreover he did not believe that Bombay possessed sufficient force for prolonged war and the alliance did not materialise until a new Viceroy Francisco Jose de Sampaio e Castro took charge of the Portuguese affairs in India.

Meanwhile war had been formally declared on the 17th June and the inhabitants of Bombay were strictly ordered "to forbear and desist from all manner of trade or dealings with Caernojee Angria or his people whether directly or indirectly." But hostilities had actually commenced six weeks earlier. Early in April Kan-

hoji had warned the Governor of Bombay that peace was at an end and his people would no longer be permitted free access to Angria's lands. He wrote. "By the power of our friendship on both sides trade has continued free, but now that is ceased the other is (*sic*), and as your people used to come into the rivers of my country, I will not consent to the same; therefore it is convenient that you give the information that no Galevat or person of Bombay enter or come into said rivers, for in case they do and have this advice, their lives are forfeited, for I will not dissemble, neither would I issue out this order without writing to Your Excellency, that no ill might happen to the innocent people who are the servants of God; for this reason it would be proper you should give them notice, and if not, you'l find my orders and Government will be to this purpose." Kanhoji was as good as his words and on the 7th of May Bombay learnt that he had carried out his threat and seized those Bombay boats that had ventured into his rivers in quest of wood. The Bombay fleet consisting of about twenty Gallivats were immediately despatched to the place of occurence to retake the boats if possible, "to repel force by force if they were attacked" and to plunder Kanhoji's country if practicable. Thus began the war that continued without any break for three decades and eight years.

The English began their operations with desultory raids on the enemy's coast. These made but little impression as landing could not be always effected. In May and June the English squadron had apparently achieved some success having pillaged one of Angria's towns and brought a few prisoners. But an expedition sent under Captain Jonathan Stanton in July to fortify a small island in the neighbourhood of Bombay proved unsuccessful. The Captain attributed his failure to the cowardice of his men who refused to attempt a landing after experiencing one reverse only. In September is recorded an unimportant skirmish in which the English lost their head Subedar and about sixteen men, the enemy's loss was supposed to be more considerable. In October the people from the Bombay Gallivats landed at Colgaum and fought an action near the fort. The next month Boone himself assumed the chief command and an attempt was made to dislodge Angria's men from the strategical stronghold of Khanderi. The fleet under him was fairly strong. "It consisted of the *Addison* and *Dartmouth,* East India men, the *Victoria* frigate, the *Revenge* and *Defiance* grabs, the *Fame* galley, the *Hunter* ketch, two bombketches, and fortyeight gallivats". The Governor hoisted his flag on the *Addison* on the first of November and the squadron left for its destination the next day. Shortly afterwards

it was joined by the *Morrice* and the *Stanhope*, another East India man. Formidable as the fleet looked on paper the morale of the crew was not at its best and Boone was hardly competent to command an expedition of this character. According to Clement Downing, who served on this occasion, and Captain Alexander Hamilton, Boone counted a good deal on the local knowledge of Manuel de Castro, a Portuguese deserter from Kanhoji's fleet. After ineffectually bombarding the fort it was decided to land the sepoys and mariners simultaneously at two different parts of the island but the sepoys refused to land and the soldiers and mariners were repulsed by the garrison. Promise of pension and reward procured some forty volunteers but their gallant assault met with no better success. Angria's ships kept Khanderi well supplied with provision and powder and Boone perceived the futility of persisting in his attempt. He returned to Bombay after ineffectually bombarding Kolaba. The failure of this cherished project caused no little disappointment, and as is usual, failure was attributed to treachery. Manuel de Castro was banished to St. Helena and Ramji Kamathi, an influential Brahman of Bombay, was condemned to life long imprisonment. It is doubtful whether the Portuguese was guilty of a secret understanding with his former employer but it has been definitely established that the Brahman was unjustly punished, the incriminating letter having been proved a forgery.

Foiled at Kolaba and Khanderi, Boone sent the English fleet southward with the project of burning Kanhoji's *ghurabs* in the harbour of Gheria. But Kanhoji's good luck still prevailed, and while four of Angria's prizes were captured by the English fleet, it did not return unscathed, having lost a fireship which was blown up by the fire of an Angrian *Ghurab*.

These operations hardly affected the naval supremacy of Angria, for in January, 1719, his fleet boldly appeared before Bombay and the *Morrice* had to postpone its homeward journey no less than three times in fear of Kanhoji's *Ghurabs*.

But while everything was going in his favour Kanhoji suddenly sued for peace through his overlord Shahu. His envoy visited Bombay and after several discourses with Boone agreed upon certain preliminary articles which were entirely to the satisfaction of the Bombay council. According to Colonel Biddulph "Angria contracted to restore all ships and vessels he had taken, except the *Success*, which was hopelessly decayed, for which he was to pay Rs. 10,000, or to restore goods to that amount. In lieu of captured cargoes he was to pay Rs. 50,000, or to give goods of equal value, and within two years he was to pay Rs. 10,000 more,

for which payment Sahooje undertook to be surety". Angria's envoy further promised to deliver the English prisoners as a token of sincerity. This opportunity of bringing the war to an honourable conclusion was warmly welcomed by the Bombay Council and they sent Captain John Miles to Angria's headquarters with a letter from the Governor to bring back the prisoners. Kanhoji had apparently risen in the estimation of his English neighbours since the last treaty, for it was not suggested for a moment that Captain Miles was being employed on a perilous mission. He returned from Kolaba on the 12th of February without the prisoners and brought only an answer to Boone's letter. Kanhoji wrote that the prisoners were at Vijayadurg and would be sent to Bombay as soon as they arrived in company of his envoy Sivaji Vishwanath. As for the preliminary articles, he intimated his correspondent that he had some objections, but did not explain them. He was informed that the President was prepared to discuss the terms with Shivaji Vishwanath when he comes with the English men, provided he is furnished with requisite authority. Things looked bright and Boone informed his masters that peace was in sight. Kanhoji's fleet and army had not yet met with any serious reverse but the terms were such as a victor alone could dictate to a vanquished foe. That Kanhoji suddenly backed out and negotiations were abruptly terminated need not surprise us. The question is why did he solicit peace at all? Very likely he had received some information about the proposed Anglo-Portuguese alliance. Kanhoji was no coward but he always preferred to fight one enemy at a time. It was probably on this account that he attempted an amicable settlement with the English but the terms were not to his liking. If he was to compensate the English for the captured vessels he need not have gone to war with them at all. It is also possible that by the middle of February he had received reassuring news from Goa and learnt with satisfaction that the Viceroy was not anxious to make a common cause with the English Governor. His relations with the ruler of Sawantwari were not always friendly but neither Khem Savant nor his successor Phond Savant was a match for Kanhoji.

1719 was a year of comparative peace for Kanhoji. The English fleet apparently confined itself to defensive measures alone. The Portuguese were inactive, if watchful, and the contemporary records mention no naval action or demonstration of any importance. But it was a lull in the storm which broke out with fresh fury and renewed force next year. In 1720 Kanhoji had to face three powerful enemies. It was lucky for him that they had no common plan and made no combined efforts.

Conde de Ericeira was a man of uncommon ability. He combined unflinching resolution with rare resourcefulness. Unwilling as he was to make an alliance with his neighbours of Bombay he was not blind to the dangers of Angria's aggrandisement, he therefore made two attempts to curb Kanhoji's power by destroying his fleet if possible. His first efforts were directed against Kolaba and the task of surprising that important station was entrusted to Antonio Cardim Froes who had commanded the Portuguese blockading fleet in 1713. Kanhoji might have many shortcomings but lack of vigilance was not one of them, and the Portuguese Captain-Mor had to return disappointed. The second scheme was directed against Angria's men-of-war at Gheria. It was his intention to burn or destroy them, or better still, to seize the unsuspecting vessels if possible and bring them by force to Goa. How this was to be effected we are not told, but the Viceroy complains that this well conceived plan was frustrated, though unintentionally, by the English. They appeared before Gheria without giving him any warning whatever and the enemy fleet promptly put to the sea in alarm. The fugitives were pursued for forty eight hours but without any effect.

This must have happened in the third week of September when the English squadron consisting of "the *London*, the *Victory* frigate, the *Revenge* and *Defiance* grabs, the *Hunter* Galley, two gallivats, a bombketch, and a fire ship, besides a number of fishing boats for landing troops was sent against Gheria. The fleet was later reinforced by the *Chandos*, *Pelham* and the *Phram*. The *Phram* was not an ordinary man-of-war but a flat bottomed vessel with shot proof sides designed to serve as a floating battery. It had been specially constructed for bombarding Angria's strongholds and great things were expected of it. The chief command was entrusted to Walter Brown, a civilian, with the grandiloquent designation of "Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces". Boone was particularly unfortunate in the choice of his commanders and Brown proved no exception. The English fleet stood before Gheria for more than a week, the fort was ineffectively bombarded at intervals, landing was on more than one occasion effected but the storming parties were invariably repulsed and at last Brown weighed anchor to repair the damages his ships had suffered. Nothing but a demonstration had in reality been made and the demonstration, judged from its results, was a very poor one. Carefully organised as the expedition had been, it was doomed to failure from the very beginning. There was no discipline in the English fleet, the sailors and their officers behaved as they pleased, some of the captains were evidently chicken

hearted, and Brown found in alcohol the sole remedy of all evils, moral and physical. "In order to make them fight well. Brown's idea was to supply them with unlimited rum: the officers kept pace with the men in their libations, and what little discipline existed soon disappeared. Orders were disobeyed, while drunkenness, violence, and insubordination reigned unchecked. When remonstrances were addressed to Brown, he refused to stop the supply of liquor, saying that the people must not be put out of humour at this juncture, and they must drink as they pleased". They drank to their heart's content and caused nothing but continual disturbances.

In October, Brown obtained an opportunity of making some amends for his failure at Gheria. Phond Savant II of Savant Wari offered to co-operate with the English against Angria and invited them to send an expedition against Devgad. The Savant had a legitimate grievance against Angria for extending his protection to the dispossessed Desais of Kudal, and Kanhoji had offered a more serious affront to the ruler of Wari when he burnt his ships and harried his lands. We learn from Hamilton that the Savant "had two Grabs apirating at sea, but in a dispute about a prize which Cannajee Angarie laid claim to they went to war, and Cannajee being much superior to him in power, first took his grabs and burnt them, and then landed at Vingurla, and burnt and destroyed the villages near the town." It was to avenge this wrong that the Savant had solicited English help but when the fleet appeared before Devgad, Brown perceived that his new ally had changed his mind and was in no hurry to aggravate his differences with his dreaded neighbour. The second venture of Admiral Brown was no more successful than the first. "The usual desultory and harmless bombardment followed; the Phram and the bombketch being equally inefficient. Then when Brown suggested a landing party to storm the place, the officers refused to second him, and so, with some additional loss, the attack on Deoghur came to an end".

Kanhoji could very well congratulate himself on the achievements of the year. While the English fleet under Brown failed in its main objective in September and October, his men had captured an English ship earlier in the year and carried it into his port of Gheria.

The failures of 1720 convinced the English and the Portuguese of the futility of disconcerted action against an adversary so formidable and resourceful and the two European nations were constrained to recognise the need of joint action. But they were not on the best of terms at the time being. Boone had expelled the

Portuguese priests from Bombay and nominated a Bishop of his own choice to look after the spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholic population. Luiz Gonsalves da Camara Coutinho, General of the North, considered this to be an infringement of the treaty of cession and retaliated by prohibiting all commerce with the English island. But common misfortunes had a sobering influence, and before he left India in September, Conde de Ericeira addressed a conciliatory letter to the Governor of Bombay. In December Robert Cowan was sent to Goa to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance against Angria. He found the new Viceroy Francisco Jose de Sampayo de Castro in an accommodating mood and assured him that the English would "readily enter into measures as might enable both nations to chastise the common enemy Angria who not only interrupted our commerce by sea but daily insulted the King of Portugalls subjects by land." The Viceroy on his part answered that "he noways approved of the General of the North's transactions, that he was very willing and ready to enter into any just measures, and desire nothing more than to joyn us (the English) against Angria." Thus was good feeling restored and good understanding re-established and the diplomatic efforts of Robert Cowan was rewarded with a formal treaty of alliance.

Anxious as both the parties were to come to a speedy conclusion the negotiation dragged on for eight months and the treaty was not concluded till the 20th of August. Of its fourteen articles the first provided for an immediate war against Angria and the two signatories undertook not to conclude any peace in exclusion of the other. The third article laid down that the joint force should be commanded on alternate days by the generals of the two nations. The spoils of war including munitions were to be equally shared and each nation was expected to bring to the field an army of two thousand infantry with officers and cavalry in proportion. In the sea their respective quota was to consist of five men-of-war, and as such a formidable force was expected to reduce all the forts and strongholds of Angria it was decided that Kolaba with the villages under its jurisdiction should fall to the share of the Portuguese while Gheria and the adjacent district should form the English share of the conquered lands. In recognition of his services Cowan was awarded a seat on the Bombay Council, and when the expedition set out three months later he was nominated the generalissimo of the expeditionery force.

Boone cannot be blamed for his sanguine expectations, for, shortly after the conclusion of the treaty Bombay received a fresh accession of strength. While Cowan was negotiating the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, a strong squadron consisting "of the *Lyon*, 50

guns; *Salisbury,* 40 guns; *Exeter,* 50 guns; and *Shoreham,* 20 guns" sailed for the east under Commodore Thomas Matthews. Irascible, over bearing and insolent as he was, Mathews had served under Byng and had a creditable record in the royal navy. Great things were, therefore, expected of him and Bombay was naturally jubilant.

But Kanhoji could not be caught unawares. The Anglo-Portuguese alliance was no secret to him. By some means unknown to his enemies he had got an inkling of what was going on even before the treaty had been concluded and as he preferred diplomacy to armed conflict he addressed a letter to the Captain of the Province of the North on the 7th August proposing an amicable settlement of the existing dispute. His friendly approaches were however sternly repulsed and Kanhoji made suitable provisions for the defence of his ports and further provided for his security by ensuring the support of his sovereign and liege lord and enlisting the alliance of the Malwans as the sequel proved. On the 29th November the English force left for Chaul where they joined the Portuguese army on the 1st December. But when the joint force arrived before Alibag they found Kanhoji fully prepared.

The allied army numbered more than five thousand but its strength was more apparent than real. Cowan was no soldier and the improvised Colonels and Captains did not contribute to the efficiency of the English force. Matthews was more proud than prudent and he had no previous experience of Indian warfare. His officers were hardly amenable to discipline and drinking and duels formed the order of the day. The morale of the Bombay force was not at its highest and they were not accustomed to expect any success against Angria. The Portuguese army mainly consisted of adventurers and half castes, and their commanders were as sensitive about their dignity as Mathews was insolent and overbearing. The ill assorted allies had very little chance against the veterans of Kolaba and the campaign did not last more than a month.

On the 12th, Alibag was bombarded. Two days later the allies tried to storm the fortress but the wall was too high to be escaladed, no breach was effected and the assailants were repulsed. The defeated force was soon put to rout and to make matters worse Matthews 'came on shore in a violent rage, flew at the General of the North, and thrust his cane in his mouth, and treated the Viceroy not much better'. It was lucky for the demoralised party that it was not pursued by the Marathas. Kanhoji had already

received a reinforcement under Pilaji Jadhava and information now reached the allied camp that Baji Rao was in the neighbourhood with a strong force of Maratha cavalry. While the allied plans were thus upset on the land, they fared no better on the sea. Kanhoji's Captains captured a Portuguese boat from Diu and "the Malwans strove to make a diversion in Angria's favour by attacking English ships under the pretence that they were Portuguese vessels." The Viceroy decided to give up the contest and availed himself of the earliest opportunity of concluding a peace.

The Viceroy however had one small difficulty. An article of the recent alliance specifically required him not to conclude any treaty with Angria in exclusion of his English allies. But a loop hole was easily discovered. The Portuguese Government did not treat with Kanhoji but with Baji Rao, and they entered into a treaty with Shahu Chhatrapati in which his servant Angria was also included. By this treaty the ports of the two states were thrown open to the merchants of the two contracting nations, the Portuguese undertook to supply the Marathas with artillery and ammunition at a just price, both the parties undertook to set the prisoners of war at liberty. As the Kolaba fleet was still on the high sea it was stipulated that any Portuguese vessel that it might capture in the meantime would be restored with its cargo to its rightful owners on the return of the armada. And a defensive and offensive alliance was concluded between the two powers. The English were given the option of accepting similar terms within eight days.

The treaty was concluded on the 12th Januray, 1722, and the English openly accused the Portuguese of breach of faith. Kanhoji was now free to deal with the English as he pleased and a report came from Karwar of an action between two British vessels, *Victoria* and *Revenge*, and four of Angria's Ghurabs. Kanhoji's vessels suffered a defeat but safely effected their escape. Next month, however, the tables were turned. On the 27th of February Kanhoji's men engaged two English men-of-war, the *Eagle* and the *Hunter*. After five hours fighting the *Hunter* blew up and went down. The *Eagle* was badly battered but succeeded in reaching a small Portuguese port near Bassein. This apparently caused a terrible consternation for on the 12th March—"a letter was received from the Captain of the *Revenge* (at Rajapore) that he did not dare to procede without reinforcement with the merchant ships under his convoy as he was informed that Angria's Grabbs were at Colaba." The *Eagle* and the *Bombay Merchant* also deemed it prudent not to forsake their safe asylum

at Shirgaon until they were informed that the enemy fleet had gone south. The success of Kanhoji was by no means uniform, for one of his ships was captured by the English near Underi in October of the same year. It was to avenge this loss that he left Kolaba in person to assume the chief command of his fleet, his declared intention being the total annihilation of the English, if a contemporary Portuguese account is to be believed. But he achieved nothing noteworthy, and on the fifth November his fleet suffered another defeat near Versova when his chief Subedar was captured with his flag ship. Nothing daunted, the Kolaba fleet kept the sea and succeeded in causing no small injury to the commerce of Bombay. On the 20th of October 1723 twelve of Angria's Gallivats appeared before Bombay harbour and attacked two English cruisers "who went convoy to two small vessels belonging to the Island bound for Muscat and after some hours fight took them all." Thus the duel went on with varying success, and the belligerents were apparently resolved to fight to a finish. But in 1724 Kanhoji suddenly addressed a letter to William Phipps, who had succeeded Boone as Governor of Bombay two years earlier, with proposals of peace to be preceded by an exchange of prisoners. A contemporary Portuguese author suggests that this sudden predilection for peace must be attributed to Kanhoji's anxiety to procure the release of his chief Admiral, Shivaji Nayak, who had been taken prisoner by the English near Cape Ramas. But there is reason to believe that more serious reasons led the astute chief of Kolaba to secure a temporary truce with the English if permanent peace was not possible.

In 1723 the chief of Savant Wari took the opportunity of Kanhoji's absence at the court of Shahu and invaded his territories. The invasion was easily repulsed by Angria's officers. The defeated chief sought the support of his Portuguese neighbours, and although all assistance was publicly refused, secret help was promised to avert the imminent ruin with which he was threatened. The Portuguese naturally disliked the near approach of Angria to their headquarters and preferred a weaker neighbour. In 1724 Kolaba was attacked by a third European power, the Dutch. The invasion proved ineffective, but it must have added to Angria's embarrassment. In 1725 the Sidi of Rajpuri appeared before Kolaba with twelve Palls, two frigates and no less than one hundred gallivats. That Angria preferred to pay the Sidi "a good sum of Rupias", instead of opening his artillery on the hostile armada, proves beyond doubt that Kanhoji was confronted with more serious troubles than we are aware of, and he hastened to compose his differences with the English the most persistent and

powerful of his enemies. Phipps, however, did not receive his friendly approaches with a good grace and his answer was full of bitter sarcasm. In a contest of retorts Kanhoji was hard to beat and Phipps did not come out very well of the wordy conflict. Ultimately it was decided that the prisoners of war should be exchanged at a neutral place. The place selected was Karanja, which then belonged to the Portuguese, and the intermediary selected on this occasion by Kanhoji was Mr. Curgenven, a private merchant of Madras. He fell into Angria's hands when his ship *Charlottle* was captured on the 2nd of April 1720, while sailing southwards from Surat. He was kept a prisoner at Gheria till March 1724, when he was removed to Kolaba. Nine months later he was permitted to ransom himself and a few of his fellow prisoners on condition that he should convey the proposal of a mutual exchange of prisoners to the Governor and Council of Bombay, Kanhoji having promised to return his ransom when his mission was achieved. Curgenven found no difficulty in convincing Phipps and his colleagues of Kanhoji's sincerity and by the end of April, 1725, the exchange was effected. Of 12,500 rupees that Angria had received from Mr. Curgenven 10,500 were paid on this occasion and a trusty Bania of the island stood surety for the balance. The exchange of prisoners was, however, not followed by peace, and Angria's fleet remained a standing menace to the merchant men of Bombay. In November, 1726, Phipps informed the Council "that Angria since opening of the season having taken heart to cruise with his gallivats to the northward of us, which the Portuguese suffer without interruption, giving his boats the usual protection of their ports where by he has already had considerable success in taking divers vessels bound hither, as well as to the Portuguese ports that the unexpected repair the Galleys have stood in need of and the small number of gallivats in the service has put it out of our power hitherto to secure the coast from his insults." The next month, "it was decided to purchase the *Fame* which belonged to the President" "as the English fleet was not strong enough to protect the trade in the coast" and as defensive measure now demanded heavier expenses a new tax was imposed" on the boats directly employed from the island for trading". In 1727 hostilities between Angria and the Sidi broke out afresh and early in January 1728 Angria again opened negotiations for peace with the English. Phipps however would not hear of any terms except the total restitution of all captured ships and their cargoes and the peace parleys came to nought. Next year the Angria fleet took to sea with the opening of the fair season and on the 16th January Bombay perceived fifteen Gallivats proceeding northwards. On the 17th

seven of Angria's gallivats fell upon an English vessel the *Shark* almost within sight of Bombay and carried it triumphantly to Khanderi, whence it was later transferred to Kolaba. This was probably the last notable achievement of the Kolaba fleet during the life time of Kanhoji, for he passed away in the plenitude of power and prestige on the 20th June 1729.

Kanhoji can rightly claim to be the second founder of the Maratha navy. From a very small beginning he rose to be the foremost maritime leader of the Malabar coast. It is idle to condemn him as a pirate, he merely pursued the prevalent practice of his time. Nor can he be justly accused of treachery and faithlessness. His attitude towards alien ships bearing English flags was not technically incorrect. The English were specifically precluded from extending their protection to foreign ships and in February 1715 when a small ship belonging to two Muslim merchants solicited the convey of their vessels the Bombay Government concluded that such a permission would not constitute a breach of the late treaty as the ship in question had already procured a pass from Angria. The character of such a ship could not be supposed to have been materially affected when it was hired or freighted by a broker of Bombay or a merchant of Madras. In 1756 the English themselves claimed the right of enforcing their passes on native vessels already "provided with Dutch permits." It is therefore clear that the pass of one maritime power was not regarded as a legal protection against the aggression of another and exemption from this obligation could be obtained only by a convention or treaty. In 1710 when the Dutch East India Company protested against Kanhoji's appropriation of a Dutch sloop and a galley, he replied he was not aware of any friendship existing between him and the company, nor of any correspondence on the matter. He did not molest such merchants as made him presents, as for instance the English, Portuguese and Moor, and he refused to restore the prize. Since 1722 the Portuguese ships had the free use of his ports until war broke out between them and the Marathas. So long as peace prevailed between the Governments of Goa and Satara, Kanhoji loyally adhered to the provisions of the treaty concluded by the Peshwa.

About his strategy and method of enlistment we know next to nothing. As he boldly asserted in his letter to Phipps, he was an ardent believer in the policy of aggression attributed to the great Shivaji. He did not lack moderation as has been already noticed and he resorted to diplomacy as often as possible, but he failed to appreciate the real aim of Shivaji's policy. Shivaji tried his ut-

most to do away with feudalism and to strengthen the central executive as much as practicable. Kanhoji was a feudal chief first of all. He acknowledged the supremacy of Shahu but behaved, for all practical purposes, as an independent ruler. The central executive could not, therefore, treat the chief admiral as a mere servant as in Shivaji's days, and the growing power of the hereditary admiral was not always regarded as a source of strength to the State as a whole. But in justice to him it must be admitted that Kanhoji did not stand alone in his preference for feudalism or in his spirit of self aggrandisement. His shortcoming was shared by all the Maratha chiefs of his time. He was a shrewd diplomat, a great admiral, but not a far sighted statesman. It was a strong fleet, strong in number, strong in achievement and stronger in confidence that he left to his sons and successors, but with the new tradition of maritime ascendancy they inherited from him the baneful legacy of a feudal principality with all its evil implications. In the feudal conflicts of his time Kanhoji had discovered the means of his rapid promotion to power, but the forces of disruption which he had so skillfully exploited to serve his own end ultimately proved the undoing of his family.

LECTURE IV.

Sekhoji Angria: 1729-1733.

Kanhoji Angria was a much married man and he had a numerous progeny. But as the ladies of his harem were not all duly wedded to him, it is not easy to ascertain which of his many sons were born in wedlock and how many of them had the bar sinister. According to the official account of the family, Kanhoji had by his first wife two sons Sekhoji and Sambhaji, his second wife bore him two more, Manaji and Tulaji, while Yesaji, Dhondji and others were his natural sons. According to the *Epanaphora Indica*, Tulaji and Manaji were illegitimate children of their father, and of his two sons by the second wife the eldest was called Appaji. Two of his letters to Brahmendra Swami have been preserved. Of Kanhoji's wives, Mathurabai and Lakshmibai seem to have been the most influential and they frequently corresponded with Brahmendra and Baji Rao. As Sekhoji's succession to his father's office was uncontested and peaceful, it may be logically inferred that he was the eldest son of Kanhoji, and there is reason to believe that Sambhaji was his full brother. Grose was palpably wrong when he stated that Manaji was a son

of Sambhaji; the late Sir George Forrest was equally misinformed when he tried to perpetuate this gross error. Sekhoji was a short lived young man and followed his father to the grave four years later. It was on this account that Grose was not familiar with his name and asserted that Sambhaji was Kanhoji's immediate successor.

Kanhoji's death meant no respite for the English and the war was renewed with equal vigour and resolution by Sekhoji. The official account proudly declares that he never made any peace with the English. His father died in June. The fleet was then necessarily idle as all operations had to be suspended during the four months of the monsoon. But the opening of the fair season found it again in the scene of its former activities. In November, Sekhoji's fleet captured the *William* near Dabhol. This must have been considered an auspicious beginning for the young admiral, though the victory had been dearly purchased. The Bombay authorities now came to the conclusion that their merchant fleet would no more be safe unless Kolaba was closely watched by a squadron of invigilation and next year they wrote to the President and Council of Bengal "earnestly requesting them to dispatch to us the *Princess Caroline* and *Prince of Wales* galleys as soon as the season will permit as we shall be in great want of them to watch the motions of the enemy Angria and to protect the trade." In September 1730, the English galleys captured three of Angria's fighting gallivats near Kelve Mahim. When the crew perceived the futility of further resistance they jumped overboard and swam ashore. On the 25th of November however Sekhoji won a brilliant victory over the invigilating squadron posted off Kolaba. The squadron in question consisted of the *Victoria* frigate, *Bombay* and *Bengal* galleys. Early in the morning Sekhoji's fleet came out of Kolaba and resolutely attacked the two galleys. The frigate was then too far from the place of action and could not come to their rescue in time "there being little or no wind". "The grabs lay astern of the galleys battering them with their prow guns, the galleys having no stern chace or any other defence but their small arms which they play'd very briskly, not withstanding which the enemy attempted severall times to lash their grabs to the galleys quarter and board and were as often repulsed and beat off with great loss, an unlucky shot from the enemy set fire to two chests of power flasks that stood on the *Bombay* galleys quarter deck which mortally wounded Captain Campbell and hurt several of his people, yet he clear'd his vessell the four times boarded, but the *Bengal* was carried the third attack the Captain and most of his men being killed and wounded, and the whole ships company

in a great consternation through the taking fire of two barrells of musket cartridges that were in the great cabin that almost blew up the quarter deck, the smallest of the grabs with the gallivats took the *Bengal* in tow and carryed her to Colabbo before the *Victoria* could come to her rescue but in going in the galley struck and is hoped she is lost." After thus routing the blockading cruizers, several ships of the Kolaba fleet sailed southwards to join, as it was supposed, Sambhaji Angria's squadron at Gheria.

This disaster naturally caused a great consternation at Bombay. The garrison was weak before, and the naval action near Kolaba reduced its strength further, the English having lost about one hundred European soldiers and sailors. But to their great credit the President and his collegues did not lose heart and resolutely set to repair the loss as best as they could. For some time past they had been trying to rally all the enemies of Angria and their efforts had not been altogether unsuccessful. On the 17th April, 1730 President Cowan had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Phond Savant of Wari. The fifth article of the treaty laid down that as the sons of Kanhoji Angria were professed enemies of the Hon'ble Company and the Sardesai, "the joint endeavours of both shall be exerted to destroy the said enemy." The English undertook to harass them as much as possible by the sea while the Savant was expected to attack the Angria brothers both by sea and land to the best of his ability. In May the Marathas invaded the Portuguese Province of the North and the Captain of Bassein solicited reinforcement from Bombay. The English were not anxious to go to war with the Marathas but at the same time they could not permit the neighbouring islands to be annexed by them. While offering their mediation as a common friend they did not hesitate to despatch the much needed succours to the Portuguese. Sekhoji Angria had so long kept peace with the government of Goa but now that his master was at war with them he could not possibly stand aside like a mere onlooker. His troops co-operated with the Marathas of Bhivandi. In September a Portuguese fleet consisting of a frigate and three galleys set out from Goa for Bassein with a strong reinforcement. But it was attacked by Angria's fleet in the neighbourhood of Gheria and two of the galleys were captured while the third was compelled to seek shelter in one of the Sidi's ports where it was detained by that chief in retaliation of some unfriendly act. In 1731 Sekhoji captured two merchant pals with a gallivat belonging to the Portuguese and his reputation rose so high that the Bombay Government deemed it necessary to offer special reward for the encouragement of their

were assured that such of Angria's men-of-war as they might capture shall be awarded to the captor with all their artillery and warlike appurtenances and the prizes would be supplemented by the President and the Councillors from their private purses "by an additional gratuity of two thousand rupees for each fighting Grab of Angrias." Next year, the English frigates captured one of Sekhoji's fighting gallivats but this was no more than a flea's bite to the mighty lord of Kolaba. His power was expected to suffer some decline from the defection of his brother Sambhaji two years earlier. But Sekhoji was not merely a strong leader, he was a good brother as well. Before long he managed to humour his wayward brother and gently led the erring youngman back to the path of duty. In January 1732 the English of Tellichery learnt with apprehension that the Canarees of Mangalore were contemplating an alliance with Angria and that the dreaded chief was endeavouring to get a settlement on the Billiapatam river for the reception of his vessels. In November Sekhoji sailed from Kolaba with five Ghurabs and ten gallivats and Sambhaji set out at the same time with twelve gallivats for Gheria where he was to be reinforced by four ghurabs. Bombay was naturally nervous and all the cruisers were promptly sent out to keep a strict watch over the enemy fleet. Sekhoji's squadron later entered into Suvarnadurg but Sambhaji went as far south as the Pigeon Island. Although the English records mention nothing more about the activities of the two fleets we learn from the Portuguese that on the 12th January 1733 the Viceroy ordered three galleys to sail for Honawar where a Portuguese ship was prevented from taking its cargo of pepper by Angria's fleet. On the 13th the Portuguese galleys reached their destination but found that the enemy had departed the day before. Two days later Angria returned with 14 gallivats and an action followed. Angria divided his fleet into two squadrons and safely retreated after suffering some minor loss. The Portuguese commander explains that these eight gallivats could navigate in very shallow water and this enabled them to effect their escape with such ease. It was probably Sambhaji's squadron that the Portuguese galleys had engaged. While every thing was going on in his favour Sekhoji offered to settle his differences with Bombay and on the 21st of June, 1733, his envoys waited upon the governor with proposals of peace. The same month an exchange of prisoners was effected, though we do not know the exact date of this transaction. The English had inflicted little loss on Sekhoji's fleet, their alliance with the Sawant was absolutely barren of results, the restoration of good understanding between Goa and Bombay left his maritime ascendancy entirely unshaken

but he was prepared to leave the English alone for the time being, because his master was anxious to conquer the Sidi, and annex his territories and the Peshwa had commenced operations against the Abyssinian chief in February, 1733 in co-operation with Sekhoji.

The Sidi single handed was no match for the Marathas. But the Abyssinians still held many important ports, and Rairi, the old capital of Shivaji, was still in their possession. It was quite natural that Shahu should make a strenuous effort to recover his grandfather's forts and strongholds, but it is doubtful whether he would have shaken his lethargy so soon and set his heart so much upon the reconquest of the lost districts if the Sidis had not in the meantime offered him a fresh offence. The story of Brahmendra Swami and the elephant is too well known to be repeated here. In 1727 Sidi Sat governor of Anjanvel and Govalkot wreaked his vengence on Brahmendra Swami by desecrating his temple and molesting the innocent Hindu villagers of Parashuram. Brahmendra was a Hindu ascetic, but from his letters it appears that he did not forget or forgive any wrong easily and though he believed in the potency of his spiritual attainments he did not omit to enlist human agencies to ensure the efficacy of his cause. Shahu and his ministers held the Swami in great esteem and the wrongs he had suffered infuriated them all. The desecration of the temple was regarded as an insult to Hinduism and Shahu was above all the leader of the Hindus in the Deccan. The practical common sense of Kanhoji Angria, however, had a sobering influence on his war-like contemporaries but the Swami went on working upon the feelings of his co-religionists until the death of Sidi Rasul, the ruler of Janjira in 1733 and the subsequent dissension among his sons and heirs offered the Marathas the suitable opportunity they had been seeking so long. A Koli convert in the Sidi's service changed sides at this crisis, and though he does not seem to have been of much use to the Marathas, their early victories were as rapid as important. The joint forces of the Peshwa and Angria reduced Rajapore and Khokri, the ochre coloured ensign of Shivaji was once again hoisted on the towers of Raigad, Sekhoji captured the fort of upper Chaul, the fort of Ravance in the Pen river and the more important town and stronghold of Thal. Thal was opposite the island of Underi and if Sekhoji's men-of-war could expel the Sidi from that station as well, the harbour and shipping of Bombay would be entirely at his mercy. The Sidis still retained their island stronghold as well as the fortresses of Anjanvel and Govalkot, but they were not in a position to offer a prolonged defence unless assistance arrived from outside. They accordingly sent distressing appeals for help to Goa and Bombay. This was

the situation with which Cowan and his Councillors had to deal when Sekhoji's envoys came with a friendly message and proposal of peace.

The fall of Rajapore had considerably augmented Sekhoji's power in the sea for the captured ships had all been added to his fleet and the English rightly apprehended that "if he should succeed in his attempt (against Underi) he is entirely master of this port when it will be impossible for any small embarkations or ships of little force bound to this port to escape his gallivats, and consequently an end put to the greatest part of our country trade, as all the Sceedys grabs and gallivats are given to Succojee Angria for his share of the plunder of Rajapore and he has carried them to Colaba to join the rest of his fleet, which now consists of eleven grabs and twentyfive gallivats besides four grabs and twenty gallivats under the directions of his brother Sambhojee at Gereah." It was no wonder that the English were in no hurry to come to terms with their ancient enemy and permit the respite which he so badly needed for reducing the remaining strongholds of the Sidi. Assistance and succour had indeed been solicited from Rajapuri and Anjanvel, but Underi demanded their attention most. As their military resources were by no means unlimited they deemed it their duty to relieve that island first. Captain Thomas Holden was ordered to proceed with his ship *Mary,* to the threatened island and to remove the non-combatants to Bombay. The expeditionary force was placed under Captain James Inchbird who was to act in consultation with Captain Robert Macneale, "whose knowledge of the language and customs of the country people renders him the fittest person to treat and transact any affair with them." The Governor told Lt. Inchbird in his instructions.—"In my letter to Sceedy Balal I have signified to him as my opinion that on the present emergency it will be for his interest and that of the Sceedy his master to hoist the English flag upon his fort, and deliver up to you the defence of it, with his assistance and that of his present garrison, with this condition, that whenever the Sceedy thinks proper to demand the restitution of it to him on his affairs taking a different turn than what they seem at present to promise, the same shall be delivered up on the Sceedy paying the Hon'ble Company the expence and charge they have been and may be at in preserving of it, with the usual lawful interest of nine per cent per annum, but in case that the Sceedy's affairs will not admit of reclaiming the said fort, that then the same shall remain to the Hon'ble Company as their sole right and property, and the garrison of Sepoys shall become the subjects of the said Hon'ble Company, and remain in their pay and service at the usual pay that is

now paid to the garrison Sepoys of Bombay." The Governor was not disappointed in his expectations. On the 16th of July the English flag was hoisted on the fort as the Commander willingly accepted Lt. Inchbird's suggestions. The fort was bombarded from the island of Khanderi as well as from a battery constructed on the mainland opposite but this distant cannonading caused little or no harm and Angria was effectively baulked of his prey.

The English were not the only friend whose help the ruler of Janjira had in his distress solicited. The Portuguese could not offer to be so unambiguous about their intention, as they were difficient in both men and money. The Goa Government had, none the less, despatched two men-of-war to aid the Abyssinians but they were not to evince any hostility to the Marathas at once. The delicate task of thwarting their efforts under the guise of a friendly mediator was entrusted to Antonio Cardim Froes, an officer of experience and credit, who was no stranger to the coast or to the belligerent powers. Sidi Masud, the Admiral of the imperial fleet, also made elaborate preparations for helping his fellow countrymen, and though Shahu had issued urgent instruction to Gaikwad and Dabhade to devise suitable means for impeding him, nothing was done by those two chiefs. Sekhoji, therefore, found him pitted against four maritime powers, the English, the Portuguese, the Sidis of Janjira and the Sidi Admiral of Surat.

Meanwhile the remaining strongholds of Sidi Sat were threatened by fresh Maratha forces, and willing as they were, the English were not in a position to send men and munitions everywhere. But this did not diminish Sekhoji's difficulties. His officers could not pull on well with the Pratinidhi who had been entrusted by Shahu with the important mission of reducing Anjanvel and Govalkot, and Sekhoji knew that, try as he might, he could not reduce the naval strongholds of his enemy so long as they were backed by the English. He correctly read the situation and rightly recognised that to reduce Khanderi he must conquer Bombay. The rest of his adversaries he could afford to ignore; with the English humiliated, they would make room for him of their own accord.

This conviction found expression in more than one epistle. Sekhoji had received reliable information about the preparation his enemies were making at Bombay, Bassein and Surat for the coming conflict. He suspected that for creating a diversion in favour of Janjira they would in all probability attack one of his strongholds in the neighbourhood of Bombay: Khanderi, Kolaba or Hira-Kot. In case this strategy failed in its objective they

would throw fresh succour in Janjira and the Sidi might be prepared to cede the island to his hatted allies in the last resort. The elaborate preparation of the allies left Sekhoji undismayed. He knew his strength, he felt no anxiety for Kolaba and he enunciated a daring plan for disconcerting his formidable forces. This was no less than an invasion of Bombay by land and sea. Powerful as the English were, the scheme of Sekhoji was by no means impracticable. He might catch the English cruisers in a carefully devised trap between the two fleets of Kolaba and Vijayadurg. The main army of the Peshwa might at the same time cross the narrow channel that separated Bombay from the mainland. Or the Kolaba fleet might fall upon the sleeping prey when its protecting fleet would be away. This was quite practicable as Kanhoji's squadron had appeared before Bombay during the absence of the English men-of-war in 1719. The bold plan was not unworthy of the great Shivaji and it is doubtful whether Kanhoji was capable of so daring a design.

But Sekhoji would concentrate his efforts against Janjira and would therefore avoid a contest with the "hatmen" if possible. He therefore suggested that Shahu should address friendly letters to them and try to persuade them to observe neutrality. Such a letter was indeed received by the English, but they had been requested by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Khan Dauran to befriend the Janjira chief and they naturally pursued the course that suited their own interests best. But in the meantime Sekhoji had suspended the bombardment of Underi lest that might prejudice the diplomatic efforts of his agents at Bombay. The English, as usual, demanded that Angria should renounce his claims on the sea and permit their merchantmen to use the high road of the sea without any bar or hindrance. Sekhoji was not prepared to make this concession as he wrote to the Peshwa, but while negotiations went on, he did not neglect to get ready for the next campaign. He kept himself constantly informed of their movements and was busily engaged in providing for the defence of his ports while the fleet was overhauled and equipped for taking to sea with the opening of the fair season. What turns events would have taken, had Sekhoji survived we do not know, but he expired after a short illness on the 28th of August. The Peshwa was anxious to have a personal interview with him and had requested Sekhoji to come to his camp. On the 25th Sekhoji wrote to Baji Rao that he had been ill for the last nine days and of late he had been bleeding through the nose on account of an unusually high temperature. The next day he wrote two letters to the Peshwa and requested him to send Pilaji Jadhav at once to Kolaba. Two days

later the Peshwa learnt from Pilaji that the gallant Sekhoji was no more. He died in harness, and the war received his personal attention till his last moment, as his recently published letters unmistakably show. With him ended the brightest period in the naval history of the Marathas.

Sekhoji survived his father for four short years only. As a naval leader, he was in no way inferior to Kanhoji, as a noble of the Maratha empire, his loyalty was unquestionable, as a territorial ruler, he was benevolent and wise. He perceived the supreme need of unity of command and it is on this account that he placed his services unreservedly at the disposal of the Peshwa. His father seldom permitted his foreign relations to be controlled from Satara or Poona, but Sekhoji took Baji Rao into his confidence while negotiating with Bombay and freely consulted the Peshwa about the proposed terms. He was by birth a feudal noble but he tried to undo the evils of that system as much as he could. He conciliated Sambhaji, and his half brothers had nothing to complain so long as Sekhoji was alive. Under him the Angrias were united at home and dreaded abroad. His relations with the head of the state and the all powerful prime minister left nothing to be desired. He knew how to control the forces of disruption without using force, he knew how to rule as a feudal chief without breaking lose from the empire, he knew how to cooperate with his fellow chiefs without surrendering his independent command. His brothers were brave sailors but their martial propensities were not moderated by kindness and a spirit of conciliation, and the pent up forces of civil war and family dissension broke out with the death of Sekhoji Angria.

The Dutch in India

By

Mr. V. Srinivasan, M.A.

PREFACTORY NOTE

The Dutch episode in Indian history is important in that it was the Hollander and not the Englishman who succeeded to the Portuguese mastery of the Asiatic seas. Lisbon had long outshone Venice itself as a mart for oriental spices but in the seventeenth century the 'brave and indefatigable Dutch' of Mr. Marvin wrested the monopoly of Indian trade from Portugal. Dryden's lines,

"Egypt (France) and Tyrus (Holland) intercept your trade
And Jebusites your sacred laws invade'

show if anything how Dutch designs in the east affected English life of the time. For, at the crest of their power the Dutch had spotted all the East Indies with their fortifications, they held Mauritius, had six settlements in Ceylon and two in Persia and besides those in India possessed several settlements in the Cape of Good Hope. In India they settled at Sadras, Pulicat and other places. But their remoteness from either Holland or Batavia never permitted them to secure a strong foothold in the country. Their selfishness on the other hand brought them into active collision with the nationals of other European States and they had to give up the race for dominion in the peninsula. Their ideals in India were ever anything but imperial. The last settlement of Holland in India was Chinsurah which passed to British hands in 1825.

These transactions form the subject of the following pages. There appears to be no dearth of material for a study of the subject but difficulties mainly linguistic have prevented students from reading the sources and interesting themselves in the events associated with the State that had no small share in India's external trade for a good part of a Century and more.

The works laid under contribution have been stated in the foot notes. A select bibliography has been added. The account of the condition of Indo-Dutch trade is based on the excellent works of Mr. Moreland.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA.

(An episode in Indian History)

The Dutch East India Company.

1. Oldenbarneveldt was the Stadtholder who founded the Dutch East India Company. The Republic was in its infancy and in a period of stress, but it was left to him to lay the foundation of Holland's maritime power which became in the days of Ruyter and Blake a serious menace to England.

The Spaniards were the first to enter the race for territorial expansion and the Portuguese after them. The latter appeared in the east about 1487 when Pedro de Covilham reached Malabar. The Dutch were rather late. Religious considerations made it impossible for them to acquiesce in Papal awards like those of Alexander VI. But Portugal could not continue to hold the East in perpetual fee and Papal fiats notwithstanding Holland was determined to break the monopoly.

Disorders attended several attempts but the early voyages were on the whole profitable. The expedition conducted by van Neck in 1598 is an instance in point. Earlier, William Barents in breaking a north-eastern route had visited Stalen Island and Spitzbergen. Van Linschoten who lived at Goa between 1583 and 1589 sent a report which was widely published and served for long as a guidebook to adventurers. Cornelius Hautman rounded the Cape of Good Hope for the first time, passed through Surat and reached Bantam (1596). The immense possibilities of eastern trade were well recognized early and the Dutch pursued their designs with vigour. By 1602 their nationals were known in Bantam, Achin, Ceylon, the Spice Islands and Patani in Siam.

Successes naturally brought fresh anxieties; there was a rates war and the expeditions sent up began to quarrel. The national importance of the trade however could not allow the continuance of cut throat competition and the competing companies were eventually amalgamated by the States-General into a single company with exclusive powers and a national constitution. Thus was brought into existence the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie or the United Dutch East India Company. It had a permanent capital of 6,600,600 guilders approximating to £ 550,000.

The constitution drawn up was peculiar. There was at each of the principal sea ports a district chamber which had a number of directors (bewinthebber). These persons were appointed in the first instance and subsequent vacancies were filled up by the

provincial governments on the nomination of existing directors. The Chambers were represented on the 'College of Seventeen' in whose hands was vested the management of the affairs of the Company. This College framed the policy which was executed by the chambers each acting for its own seaport. It determined the size and equipment of the annual fleet, ships were allotted by it and the goods brought back in them were also marketed under its orders. The members were not responsible to the shareholders and though disputes were referred to the States-General their responsibility to that body was but nominal. Thus the business of the company was entirely in the hands of an oligarchical body maintaining its continuity by nominating to vacancies.

A colonial system was organised on the basis of monopoly and slave labour which has persisted to this day in the East Indian Islands. The Company had authority to enter into agreement with foreign powers in the name of the Dutch Government.

There was as yet no idea of establishing factories in the east. The ships should simply visit ports, sell goods and return as soon as suitable cargo was procured. The change from trading voyage to factory came at a later stage.

2. One of the earlier ventures was the discovery of Mauritius by Admiral Wybrand van Warwyk (1606). High prices stimulated interest in oriental trade and other nationals had not been slow in recognising its possibilities. The English Company had been founded under a charter issued by Queen Elizabeth in December 1600. There was also the competition from the Portuguese, at this time undisputed masters of the east. But various encounters at sea had shown Portugal's weakness in this arm. Again and again her fleets were defeated by the Dutch and her supremacy broken.

Transactions in the Indies..

Not that successes were many on land. Small forts were captured in the Spice Islands. But Mozambique, Malacca and Macao offered no small resistance to the Dutch. The commercial policy of these traders emphasized the monopolisation of Asiatic trade in cloves, mace and nutmegs. The English had secured a strong footing in Java and Sumatra and this ruled out all hopes of their being entirely excluded by the Dutch from trading in pepper. The Indian trade was at this time deemed subsidiary. Gujarat and the Coromandel were sought to be developed mainly because the cotton goods of India constituted the chief medium of their far eastern trade. A base of operations in the eastern waters was also found to be a desideratum.

Events in the early decades of the seventeenth century effected the transfer of sea power from the Portuguese to Dutch hands, and the principal objective of their policy was thus realised. Portugal's monopoly was at an end. Amboyna was captured in 1605. The same year a fleet of 15 found its way to Malacca captained by Admiral Matelieff with 1400 men under him. The city of Johore was besieged and was taken in face of fierce resistance and defence offered and organised by Don Alonzo de Castro. De Castro was defeated and several operations conducted subsequently only confirmed the verdict. The trouble was protracted and was not brought to an end till 1609 when a Convention was signed by which the Portuguese were deprived of their rights and privileges. Motley summed up the war thus: 'A commonwealth of sand banks, lagoons and meadows, less than 14,000 square miles in extent had done battle . . . with the greatest of existing powers. And this has been done with an army averaging 46,000 men, half of them foreigners hired for the job and by a seafaring population volunteering into ships of every class and denomination from a flyboat to a gallet of war".[1]

In India a fleet of thirteen arrived at the port of Calicut in 1603 and van der Hagen who captained the fleet made a peace with the king of that city against the Portuguese. And Dutch factors were rising up in the Coromandel. In 1605 a Spanish fleet was defeated off Malabar and slowly the Catholic enemy of Holland was sinking.

We may now turn to the relations between the Dutch and the English companies. The English had their headquarters at Bantam and there was a factory at Jambi on the east coast of Sumatra. The Dutch appeared to them to be dangerous, more serious than the Portuguese. Unofficial wars raged between the agents of the two Protestant companies. The Dutch attacked Pularoon which was defended by Nathaniel Courthope (1616-20). Jan Pieters-

1. 'United Netherlands'. Motley refers to Holland's struggle with Spain with which Portugal was united. Cp. also his summary of the truce:—'The Convention was signed in the spring of 1609. The ten ensuing years in Europe were comparatively tranquil but they were scarcely to be numbered among the full and fruitful sheaves of a pacific epoch. It was a pause, a breathing spell. . . . To us of a remote posterity the momentary division of epochs seems hardly discernible. So rapidly did that fight of demons which we call the Thirty Years War tread on the heels of the 40 years struggle for Dutch independence which had just been suspended, that we are accustomed to think and speak of the eighty years War as one pure, perfect, sanguinary whole.' (Life of Oldenbarneveldt).

zoon Coen the able Governor effected a peace with Salisbury and the Convention provided for the settlement of disputes among the two concerns. The English were expelled from Pularoon which was however given back soon after.

Notwithstanding this treaty (which was signed in 1619) the English were attacked and in 1623 Towerson and his nine comrades together with an equal number of Japanese and Portuguese were murdered under the orders of van Speult of Amboyna. The Dutch had to pay damages to the tune of £ 3,615 and their relations with the English grew strained.

Official relations however between Holland and England in Europe did not, during these years, correspond with the hard facts of Asiatic waters. The two countries were at peace and it was not until 1652 that owing to the passing of the Navigation Acts Anglo-Dutch relations became embittered. The great wars of the period 1652-1674 have but one interest to this study viz., by the Peace of Breda (1667) Pularoon was restored to the Dutch in lieu of New Amsterdam[2] in America which was renamed New York after the Duke who played a prominent part in the Second Dutch War.

English power clearly declined in the Far East. In Java pepper had given way to sugarcane and the English gave up all plans of further trading in the Spice Islands. By 1640 their pepper trade was at an end and their agencies lying to the east of Macassar were closed. The factory at Bantam was closed in 1683. Unmolested, the Dutch were free to build up their island empire. They had taken Jakatra in Java and had grown powerful and influential in Achin and in the Moluccas. Pieter Both, a great Governor organised their power during the years 1609-14. The project of establishing a permanent base in the eastern waters had also materialised thanks to the genius of the great Coen already referred to. In 1619 Batavia was founded. Time and again the city had been threatened by local chiefs but the population of the Spice Islands yielded gradually to the drastic discipline of the Dutch and it has continued to this day the capital of their possessions in the East.

By a system of regular blockade the Dutch sought to destroy what remained of the Portuguese power in the Indies. They became masters of Malacca[3] in 1641. The Portuguese retained

2. New Amsterdam was founded by the Dutch in 1611.

3. Malacca had remained in the hands of the Portuguese since the days of Albuquerque (1511). The garrison that had secured their rule for one hundred and thirty years now fell in the hands of the Dutch company.

Macao and Timor but they were of little use without Malacca. They were soon deprived of the commercial settlements at Macassar which event took place in 1661. From this post they had been distributing spices in some of the eastern markets. The English too maintained a factory there and the Danes from Tranquebar specialised in the trade of cloves, maces and nutmegs. Friendship was also established with the king of Macassar who expelled the Portuguese. By 1668 Dutch supremacy in the Archipilago was an established fact.

The framework of their organisation was strengthened by the establishment at Taiwan on the Formosa coast of a settlement that served as a base for the trade with China. Taiwan was one of the most hopeful possessions; we read of its extensive commerce with the mainland and its loss in 1661 was certainly a serious blow to Dutch influence in the east.

3. The Dutch had secured a footing in Japan too. Their first appearance should be dated 1609 when the 'Red Lion' and the yacht 'Griffon' arrived at Hirado. The daimyo received them well and a deputation waited on the shogun at Yedo in the Hando Isle. The Dutch received a patent in 1611 and the shogun sent a note to the king of Holland promising his subjects all help and protection. They were allowed to 'traffic and build homes serviceable and needful for their merchandise'. 'I will maintain and defend them as my own subjects'. Many of the improved notions of western medicine were introduced into Japan by the Dutch.[4]

Appearance in Japan.

Trade was developed on profitable lines. Their rivalry with the Portuguese settlers in the island led to the latter being banished and the Duch establishing at Nagasaki in 1640. The small island of Deshima was also occupied.

4. Now we turn to the transactions of the Dutch in India. Though their original designs in the east were no way concerned with India, the Dutch were not slow to realise that India should be included in their scheme of operations if trade was to be profitable. The need arose from the fact that pepper and other spices they sought in the Indies were ordinarily obtained from producers by exchanging Indian made cotton cloths.

Break-up of Portuguese power in India.

4. D. Murray, Japan. 'The Story of the Nations'. T. Fisher Unwin. During the early years the Dutch were much helped by an Englishman William Adams by name. He was an earlier settler in Japan and was instrumental in obtaining then the patent in 1620. In his letters he speaks of the Dutch having been treated by Japanese authorities with 'great conditions'.—ibid. Chapter. xii.

The Portuguese were the earliest European nation to settle in India. The English and the French succeeded them. The Danish settlement at Tranquebar dates from 1622 but it had a shortlived existence. The English Company was destined to outlive its competitors and Dutch hostility did much to eliminate the Portuguese from the field and the fortunes of the Britisher brightened as a result of rivalry being limited to the French.

The first recorded attempt of the Dutch to enter the cloth market of India was in western India in Gujarat. Two Dutch factors took passages from Achin and were welcomed in Surat. They sent very encouraging reports and eventually an agency was established at Surat which however had but an year of existence. Van Deynson the manager met with a violent death owing to Portuguese persecution and here ended for the time being Dutch enterprise in Western India. In 1615 van Ravestyn revived trade in Surat at a time when Roe's mission at the Court of Jehangir was proving unsuccessful. Pieter van den Broecke (1621) as resident director did much to make the Surat factory a paying concern and contracted the treaty with Prince Khurram which was of much help to the Dutch in their operations in the Red Sea.

Portuguese power in India was undermined with very little difficulty. The Colony at Amboyna had fallen in 1605. Two years later their monopoly was to be rudely shaken by the French Pyrard Laval having the temerity to enter the trade of India. Goa an important settlement fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1639. It had been in Portuguese hands since 1510. Malacca was also seized two years later. Jaffnapatam the last stronghold of Portugal in Ceylon was taken in 1658.

5. On the Coromandel too the Dutch had made considerable headway. Probably their successes were phenomenal in this region. Pulicat was the site of their earliest settlement on the east Coast. The factory there was one of the earliest they erected in India. They also built a fort here which they called Castel Geldria. At an early date they executed an agreement with the King of Golkonda. At Kayal they established a factory in 1645. Two years after that another Portuguese settlement was taken. This was Negapatam which was the principal settlement of the Dutch in India. Trade was also set up at Sadras on the Palar river. In 1652 Palakollu saw their first factory near Madras.

The Dutch in the Coromandel.

Portuguese hegemony was certainly disappearing in the peninsula no less than in the Far East. Even their old settlements on the Malabar were no longer theirs, for, the towns on the pepper

coast were being transferred to Dutch control. Quilon and Cannanore were seized during the years 1661-64. The town and the fort were taken with the assistance of the Rajah of Cochin (1663).

The Portuguese were expelled from San Thome in 1669, the year of the loss of Macassar. Not only that. In 1686-90 the Dutch wrested Masulipatam and put restrictions on the English trade there 'on purpose to lay the English low in the eyes of the natives according to their usual treatment'. The Dutch also settled at Petapoli now known as Nizampatam.

Portuguese power had all but vanished. Even distant Ormuz had fallen into the hands of the Persians and the English. In the Far East they came to have only Macao and Timor and on the mainland of India itself Diu and Daman and later Goa alone remained.

Their fall was due in the first instance to their shortsighted commercial policy which was deliberately based on a vicious monopoly of trade in spices and remained from first to last destitute of sound economic principle. Their military commercial policy swallowed all their profit and Roe a shrewd observer as he was left in record his utter disgust of a system that permitted at great loss the erection in large numbers of fortifications to sustain and prop up commercial power. He spoke of the beggary of Portugal who never profited by the Indies.[5]

6. In the North, the Dutch had factories at Patna, Chinsurah, Cossimbazaar and also at Agra.[6] In Bengal the Moghul Governors were friendly to their activities as they helped the State in the days of Shah Jahan in the suppression of the piracy widely prevalent in the Indian waters under the captainship of persons like the famous Fra Joan. Shayista Khan had particular admiration for the 'wise' Dutchmen and to placate his friends oppressed the English. The affairs of the English company were far from satisfactory. What with their private trading and with Keigwin's rebellion in Bombay (1684) their affairs were not as they ought to have been. At Chinsurah and other places in Bengal the Dutch appeared to be positively dangerous rivals. And English overtures

The Dutch in Bengal.

5. Vide Appendix for Roe's views on Portuguese and Dutch trade in India.

6. Cp. Bernier writing from Delhi under date 1 July 1663: 'The Dutch have a malt factory at Agra in which they generally keep four or five persons'. Further on he mentions the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmadabad'.

were always resisted by the Moghuls who had their cue from the Dutch. It was not until the famous award of Godolphin in 1702 that amity between the two nations was restored in Bengal.

Relations with the French.

7. The Dutch came into collision with the French too. Richelieu had founded the French East India Company in 1642 on the model of the English organisation. But it did not thrive as a trading concern and not infrequently its energies were frittered away in unnecessary wars that came in the wake of needless interferences in the affairs of native governments. The Frenchman Carron seized San Thome from the Dutch to whom it was returned two years later.

The Dutch forced the French to evacuate San Thome in 1693. and Pondicherry[7] fell into their hands. They held the City for some six years and the town was restored to the French under the terms of the Peace of Ryswick (1699). While it was in their possession the Dutch constructed fortifications which long ranked as the finest in all India.

There was not much between the two people. Their relations were always strained. In 1746 some French ships returning from China and Manilla were captured by the English and the Dutch were accused of assisting them despite their professions of neutrality in Anglo-French relations. War was threatened by the French Government if adequate restitution was not made by Holland. The letter of the French King to the Government at Amsterdam is referred to in the interesting diary of Anandaranga Pillai, dubash to the great Dupleix. Here is an excerpt: 'When they basely took our ships you purchased these, together with their cargoes. In what way were you warranted in doing this? Your action shows that you are attached to the interests of the English. You must either restore to us the ships and the value of their ladings or declare war.' 'The Company (the Dutch one) has consequently written to the Governor that the money would be recovered', says the diarist.[8] It is clear that for sometime English diplomacy had held the Dutch under its control and influence. Says Anandaranga Pillai: 'As there is no king of Holland the people of that country have put themselves under the protection of the King of England and have been assisting the English in this time of trouble

7. This city was founded by Martin in 1674.

8. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai: Published by the Superintendant, Government Press, Madras. Vol. II. Pp. 39—40.

with men and money. The Dutch have thus been carrying on their Government with the help of England. The new king was not countenanced by them, they retained their allegiance to the old one and took the necessary precautions to hinder the former from being installed in the throne' (Vol. II. of the Diary). The Dutch delivered the vessels seized and these became French property. But in the meantime the French Government held in occupation some of the towns on the Dutch frontier in Europe. Says the Gazette quoted in the Diary: 'As the Dutch have always inclined to the side of the English the King of France has taken three or four towns in Holland[9] in May 1747 and has written to the States-General that if they think well and act suitably with their wisdom their dignity will be maintained but otherwise they know what to expect'.[10]

We read in the Diary of the remarkable exploits of one Captain M. Roussel an account of whom as given by Dupleix is reproduced in the fifth volume.[11] Roussel was a Dutch captain. He entered French service, took a French wife and was a commandant at Mahe for a while. He was engaged in a duel with M. Bouteville on which he was recalled and put under arrest. He returned to Holland, entered Dutch service and came back to India as captain. He participated in the siege of Pondicherry and later on served the Dutch settlements in Bengal.

Dupleix held strong views on the position of the Dutch in India. He was sceptic of their ultimate success as that of the British company and predicted the downfall of both.[12]

Decline of Dutch Power.

8. Dutch power in India began to decline with the commencement of the eighteenth century when they were stripped of their possessions. Strangely enough it was Lord Clive that gave the blow in Bengal. He sedulously guarded British interests ever since the headstrong successor of Allahvardi Khan schemed the destruction of his Company.

The central years of the century saw an unofficial war between the Dutch and the English in India. Mir Jaffir was in league with the Dutch in Chinsurah. The latter were reinforced from Batavia first by one ship and then by six, all of which were

9. Sluys, Sas de Gand, Hulst and Axel.
10. Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Vol. V. April, 15, 1748. P. 23.
11. Ibid. P. 448 sqq.
12. The relevant para in the Diary is quoted *in extenso* in the Appendix.

well received by Mir Jaffir. The Dutch began to search English vessels plying in the Bay of Bengal and their effrontery reached its climax when they laid hands on one of Clive's own ships. The two nations were at peace in Europe but with calculated audacity Clive took the matter into his own hands. The Dutch having given a handle he did not hesitate and resolved on war. There were but 700 men in his settlement including Europeans and half-Europeans as against the 1,400 that the Dutch could put forth in the field. In 1759 Chinsurah was attacked by land and by sea. Clive landed all his available forces and captured the enemies' host. The Dutch were defeated and had to ignominously capitulate. Colonel Forde just returned from the Northern Circars engaged Admiral Cornish at Biderra. The huge Dutch force was defeated (Nov. 1759). Only fifty Dutchmen escaped. The action, said to have been short and bloody is yet one of the most decisive events in Indian History, an interesting milestone besides Plassey and Buxar in the progress of British dominion in India. 'It resulted in the complete submission of the Dutch and their final withdrawal from the field of Indian politics'.[13]

That was the beginning of the end. In November 1781 soon after Sholingar, Negapatam was lost to the Dutch. In January 1782 the splendid harbour of Trincomalai fell into British hands.

The Dutch power was jeopardised on European fields during the period of the great wars at the close of the eighteenth century. In 1795, on the conquest of Holland by France, the Dutch factories in India were handed over to the East India Company. These comprised three groups:

(i) those on the Coromandel Coast, with headquarters at Pulicat;

(ii) those on the Madura coast as it was called, with headquarters at Tuticorin; and

(iii) those on the Malabar coast with headquarters at Cochin.[14]

It is easy to summarise the closing events of Dutch relations with India and the dealings of the East India Company with the Governors-General of India in the nineteenth century. The Marquis of Wellesley (1798—1805) projected an expedition against Mauritius but Admiral Rainier would not co-operate without

13. Vincent A. Smith, C. I. E. The Oxford History of India, P. 496.

14. Quilon had become part of the Travancore state in 1742. Dutch occupation of the town lasted for eighty years.

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authorisation from home. The idea was abandoned and the Governor-General urged instead the taking of the Cape from the Dutch now in alliance with the French. An attack on Batavia was contemplated but was not carried out. Earl Minto (1807—13) attacked the Dutch possessions in the East at a time when Holland lay at the mercy of Bonaparte. The Cape of Good Hope was lost in 1806 and the Spice Islands and Amboyna as well. Sir Samuel Achmutty of the Madras army led an expedition to the Spice Islands or Moluccas which was occupied in 1810. Fort Cornelis near Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Java was ably defended by the French Jansens. It was however stormed by Gillespie (1811). Lord Minto who had accompanied the expedition effected with the assistance of Sir Stamford Raffles an admirable settlement with the Javanese and their chiefs. Java should have proved a valuable possession but Minto's successor Lord Hastings (1813—23) restored it to Holland unconditionally when with the final defeat of Napolean she was freed from French influence. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Almherst (1823—28) Malacca became British territory (1824). And in Bengal, Chinsurah, which had continued even after Biderra to be in Dutch hands was ceded to the British Government (1825) in exchange for some settlements in Sumatra. Thus vanished the last of the Dutch possessions in India.

9. Early in the seventeenth century both the English and the Dutch had to make their way in the teeth of Portuguese rivalry in the East not to say in India. Both coveted the Far East rather than the mainland of India as the fairer and more profitable inheritance and here the Dutch prevailed over the English and secured their end.[15] Portuguese rivalry too was successfully combated in India as well as in the Indies but unlike in the case of the latter they had to give way to the Englishmen. The Dutch were never strong in India and the English, never so in the Far East. India was never the goal of Holland but England had to concentrate on the peninsula rather than on the Spice Archipelago where her star waned early. In India the Dutch pulverised Portuguese power and when their own shortlived empire came to a close they had rendered a signal service to the English company in that the latter's path was cleared. For, further rivalry was restricted to the French.

Causes of early success and ultimate fall of the Dutch.

15. Cp. 'The English were reluctantly forced to develope their resources on the mainland. The Spice Islands were in reality a seductive bypath leading others astray.'—P. E. Roberts. Historical Geography of India.

The causes of the early Dutch successes may now be investigated.

In the first place their company was a national affair and as in the case of the French company it derived all the benefit of being a state concern. The Dutch acted in the east with the certainty that the Home Government stood by them. From the first they had a strong centralised government in the East. The direction of their resources was in the hands of a Governor-General, a powerful officer of State with freehand in matters of policy.

Their interests were certainly secure in the hands of masterful personalities like Matelieff and Coen. Matelieff gave Holland its commercial policy in the earlier stages; and as director of the factors in Java and then as Governor-General, Coen dominated Dutch affairs as an Albuquerque of their history. Coen's memorandum of instructions left to his successor in 1623 was a classic though the Company vetoed several of his ambitious projects.

Sound administration then was the principal secret of Dutch success. The Council at Batavia was an efficient body. The chain of subordination was strict, each of the chiefs at Taiwan, Amboyna, Pulicat or Surat being responsible to the Council. Occasional visits of inspection checked abuses. Theirs was a financially sound organisation and they had preceded the English. Private trading was strictly prohibited in their body. The Directors at Amsterdam reiterated in 1676 their views on the practice; 'which is nothing else than a plague and canker in the company's body and flourishes everywhere in spite of all the orders decreed and the notices issued.'

The Dutch were also a great naval power. Roe considered their strength on the sea 'as greatly superior to ours and all other Europeans joined together.' The seventeenth century saw the transfer of seapower from the Portuguese to their hands and as late as 1718 they had a reputation of being 'Europe's strongest maritime power in the East'.

Added to these was the defective organization of their rivals. Portuguese weakness on the sea as that of the Moghuls was notorious and as for the Englishmen private trading acted as a gangrene in the body politic of their company. Theirs was a private corporation and it came rather late. Efficiency was not its merit for a long time. They had at this period troubles of their own. Keigwin's Rebellion was an example. There was no unity of command and early in the XIX Century a Rainier would not cooperate with Wellesley. English trading centres suffered also from

being grouped under two co-ordinate authorities, the Councils at Bantam and Surat both of which differed acutely on matters of policy.

But the Dutch eventually failed in India. Remoteness from their headquarters in Batavia had something to do with this. They were far away from Holland also and their position was jeopardised on European fields. Theirs was after all a small country and it lay at the mercy of the French Revolution and Bonaparte. Ananda Ranga Pillai gives us an insight into their position in the middle years of the 18th century. 'The affairs of the Dutch will not run smoothly as before (Pillai wrote in 1746) and their country will gradually fall into decay. Moreover their power has been crippled, for the territory of the Emperor which borders on Holland has been occupied by the French who have also seized many of the possessions of the English. As the Dutch ships bound for Holland will necessarily have to pass the shores of Flanders along which are forts garrisoned by French soldiers, they will at once be captured. Being thus beset with dangers and difficulties on all sides, the Dutch are disspirited and feel that their power is declining.' Dupleix had no doubt of their downfall and has expressed himself to that effect, and the diarist adds: 'I concurred with the sentiments which he had expressed and related anecdotes by way of illustration, the aptitude of which he admitted.'[16] A trading concern depending on the patronage of a State beset with such difficulties could not hope to thrive and limited means prevented the Dutch from coping with the vast resources of an England. The English with all their faults could bring into being a splendid machinery at least after the Regulating 'Act'. Dutch decline was not surprising.

Sir W. W. Hunter mentioned their shortsighted policy as another contributory factor.[17] 'Like the Phoenicians of old they were cruel. Unlike them they failed to introduce their civilization', said Hunter. But the Portuguese had tried the experiment of 'introducing civilisation' but had failed. Hunter was perhaps nearer truth when he spoke of Dutch cruelty.

The Dutch ousted the Portuguese. But their own ideas were commercial and not imperial. They therefore dropped out of the race for empire in India. In the census of 1872 only 70 Dutchmen were enumerated in all India and in 1881 only 79.

16. P. 82. Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. Vol. II.
17. The Imperial Gazetteer. Vol. II. Pp. 452-3.

The passage between Ceylon and the mainland still bears the name of the Dutch Governor Palks and quaint houses in Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffna and other parts of Coromandel and Malabar remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands.

There is a Dutch cemetery at Pulicat in the Chingleput district preserved by the Madras Government.[18] It contains an imposing mausoleum of one of the Dutch Governors General and also tombs elaborately carved with armorial bearings and lengthy inscriptions. One of the entrances to the cemetery has a high romanesque lichgate one holding an hour glass and the other supporting a skull on a column.

Several Dutch and Portuguese tombstones[19] are found in the church at Cochin considered to be one of the oldest European churches in India.

St. Peter's Church and a cemetery with large tombs are the memorials of the Dutch occupation of Negapatam.

Just as the Portuguese struck coins with the initial G for Goa and D for Diu, so the Dutch struck coins bearing the initial letter P for Pulicat and N for Negapatam. Dutch coins called duits and halfduits or challis bearing on one side the monogram V.O.C. and on the other arms of Zeeland, Friseland (Frisia), Holland, Utrecht and Gelderland are met with in large quantities in the bazaars and are to some extent current on the west coast.

These are the only relics of Dutch occupation in India. The Dutch flag itself flies nowhere in India to-day.

II. DUTCH TRADE IN INDIA

1. All available evidence would justify the inference that Dutch commercial supremacy in the East was real at least in the seventeenth century.

Extent of Indo-Dutch Trade.

Business was not only large but progressive from the beginning and the shareholders of the company were usually paid high dividends, the percentage for an early date like 1605-09 being 35. Though the resources of the company were devoted to combating Portuguese rivalry in the Spice Islands, there is no doubt that trade had increased in volume and the Dutch handled a larger volume of European trade than the English. 'Their commercial supremacy

18. Madras by E. Thurston. Cambridge University Press.

19. The oldest of these goes to the beginning of Portuguese occupation in India. It is dated 1504.

may come as a surprise to readers familiar with ordinary text-books of Indian History but it is a commonplace to those who studied .. the period and while the Dutch reports and journals are marked by frequent sneers at the poverty and inefficiency of their English competitors, the English correspondence is characterised by grudging and envious admiration of the Dutch'.[20] In Western India the Dutch surpassed the English and in Bengal their predominence was indisputable from the outset.

Explanation of Dutch prosperity.

2. Strength at sea was perhaps the principal factor that contributed to this phenomenal success. The Moghul Empire itself had no navy and was glad to avail itself of Dutch help in suppressing piracy. To the Hollander however the efficiency of the mercantile marine was a primary national interest which was sedulously safeguarded by the members of the company who constituted the dominant power in the State. The Dutch were not inferior to the English on the sea and with the disappearance of the Portuguese the carrying trade in the Indian Ocean passed into their hands. Surat prospered while Goa declined; Pulicat and Madras superseded San Thome and Negapatam. Dutch boats have always been preferred for their adaptability to bad weather. Their crew had their training in the stormy seas of Northern Europe and were not infrequently employed on Indian owned vessels. The shipping industry was certainly more than a source of income; its maintenance was not only essential to the security of national existence but was a valuable asset in the keeping up of Holland's prestige as a State.

Yet another explanation of Dutch commercial prosperity could be sought in their financial strength. They started with a good capital and had large investments in India. In Gujarat alone their annual investments are said to have exceeded four million guilders (equivalent to nine and a quarter lakhs) by 1635 when that part of the country had scarcely recovered from a famine. There was no apathy against export of species from home and this relieved financial stringency.

Early Commercial Policy.

3. The Dutch usually rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Indian exports were for sometime merely of the kind required in South America and South Africa and Brazil. But stage was soon reached when consignments available to the European markets began to be made. The calico especially

20. W. H. Moreland. India from the Death of Akbar to Aurangazeb.

grew to be a favourite and European trade in it tended to increase in volume. The first large order was for 1600 pieces and appears to have been placed in 1634.

4. It was a slave-owning State that the Dutch had established in the Indies. Batavia was a city without population. The Dutch were few in number and the hostility of neighbouring communities prevented any large influx from the vicinity. A supply of inhabitants had to be organised as also a steady stream of reinforcements to make good the wastage. Plenteous supplies of slaves were obtained from the Pulicat-Tanjore side. Imported slaves like the 'Bengaldar, Arakandars, Malabaris' were affected by sickness on their arrival at Batavia and the Spice Islands. The supply was obtained by ordinary commercial methods and no force or fraud was used. Slave-trading however was not universal and its practice was purely the result of the peculiar conditions in the Dutch settlements in the East. Supply was necessarily restricted. In Arakan there was for sometime a restriction but 'certainly not due to humanitarian ideas'.[21]

Slave Trade.

The imported population had to be fed and a supply of wheat and pulse was found necessary. Though Siam, Indo-China and even Japan contributed to the trade, India was the most obvious source to draw from. The trade was beneficial to India. There was an outlet for her supplies. Batavia became a brisk centre of the grain trade.

5. The Dutch did not altogether succeed in their attempt at the exclusion of the English from the Spice Islands which was a cardinal part of their commercial policy since the days of Matelieff. But Dutch influence in Achin forced the English to abandon the pepper trade. As pepper was not an article covered by Portuguese royal monopoly the rigorous discipline enforced on the natives by them enabled the authorities at Amsterdam to regulate production on monopolistic lines. There was a factory at Jambi in Sumatra and agents did good work in the neighbouring islands There was a demand for spices in the great cities of Antwerp and Amsterdam and in the payment of dividends they were as much used as cash.

Articles of Trade: Spices.

But spices had to be obtained in the East only by bartering Indian made cotton cloth. It was thus that cotton brought the

21. Apart from this only one instance appears to have come to us of refusal by Indian authorities. In 1643 a naik rejected a Dutch request for 1000 slaves on the ground that sale of human beings was a sin.

Cotton goods.

Dutch to India. They entered the clothmarket of India in 1601 when two factors were welcomed at Surat. But till 1660 Western Europe was an undeveloped market for cotton goods. There was no great demand for muslins or prints as apparel and their import by the Dutch would only bring into jeopardy the important linen industry of the motherland. Dress, fancy goods including pintadoes (painted cloths), chintzes, handkerchiefs, sheetdyed pieces of calico and clothes with an intermixture of silk were of increased demand as years rolled by. But the Dutch had no share in opening the European trade in these things. The possibilities of the trade were realised only through the activities of their English rivals.

A small but regular export in yarn was however introduced by the Dutch from the Coromandel and to a little extent from Surat. The article was opening a new market in Western Europe and the Dutch trade was maintained at somewhere about five hundred bales a year in a period when English commerce was on the decline.

Yarn Trade.

Indigo was the commodity chiefly sought and highly valued by the first European buyers in India. Ralph Fitch gave it the place of honour among possible exports while Roe thought it a 'prime commodity'. The Dutch factors at Surat considered it as the most important local product and as early as 1607 van Deynson was arranging to buy indigo. Indigo was widely grown in the Gangetic doab and the area round Biana was the home of a well-known variety called the Lohori. Sarkhej in Gujarat was another important centre of production. The Dutch were first buying in the Vengurla region and in Sind and on several occasions obtained their supplies from other parts of Asia like Siam, Formosa, and Java. But there was no monopolising the trade and competition was not absent. Merchants from distant Persia came by the landroute to handle indigo at Agra. There were also instances of official interference. The Governor of Ahmadabad appears to have demanded in 1618 a lakh of rupees from the industry before he would permit the annual manufacture of indigo.

Indigo.

Saltpetre has long been recognised as an essential ingredient of gunpowder. In the seventeenth century Spain was in serious difficulties over her munitions supply and the Viceroy at Goa used to send 10 to 15 casks of saltpetre to meet the demands in the Iberian peninsula. Regular despatch became very common. But the article the Dutch were getting was nearly the dearest that India could supply.

Saltpetre.

They therefore strove best to organise their purchase on profitable lines. The region first considered was the Coromandel coast, then Gujarat and then Agra. The establishment of a factory at Patna was followed by a remarkable expansion of trade, 'facilities for supply coinciding apparently with enhanced demand in Europe'. The quantities taken by them were larger than the British—shipment for 1661 went to 1480 cwt—and before long it was 'considered to rank with indigo as a primary object of commerce'.

The Japanese Market.

6. The opening of the Japanese market to Bengal silk should be reckoned as perhaps the greatest achievement of the Dutch in Asia. Once political difficulties were surmounted trade was bound to improve as it did after 1650. A consignment of 300 bales is recorded for May 1653. Skin was another object of trade. In 1644 samples forwarded to Siam were favourably reported on by a Japanese merchant trading in that country and from this year dates the regular export from India.

Treasure transport.

7. The monopoly of the spice trade with Japan and China had enabled the Dutch to utilise their capital to the best advantage. Indian and Persian demand for cloths and mace was met and it was possible to direct streams of gold and silver from China and Japan to any port of India that offered a remunerative trade. The Dutch settlement at Taiwan in Formosa was the centre of their treasure trade and the factory in Japan was under the control of the Governor General who was responsible for the main supply of treasure both gold and silver to the Indian market. Supplies from Taiwan met the major part of the requirements of the Dutch in India, gold being taken to the Coromandel coast, and silver to Gujarat and Bengal. Thus the demand for remittances from Europe was correspondingly reduced. A wise government at Batavia under an able Governor-General with wide powers was a recognised asset to the Dutch trading in the east. Unlike the English of that date, 'neither the Hollander nor the Venetian nor the Genoese are so curious to forbid exportation of money'. And this is an important circumstance favourable to the Dutch.

As for copper and iron the Dutch introduced the one and plied a good export trade in the other. They developed a steady import of Japanese copper into Gujarat. This was not a too easily available metal in India; very expensive in the north, it was not

cheap in the South. The sales were satisfactory. Sometime after, trade was hampered by restrictions in Japan which lasted for about 8 years. At that time the Dutch sold copper from Sweden. The trade revived in 1648 and inadequate supplies and a rise in prices made it possible and profitable to establish an important trade. Supplies also went to Portugal.

There was a real demand for Indian iron in Batavia. The Dutch exported first from Masulipatam and then successfully developed the industry in the Godavari delta. The artisans imported by them introduced several improvements in technique. The producers of the Golkonda country appear to have profited to some extent.

8. India moreover was a market for imported articles like lead, cloves, mace and nutmegs.

Quick silver was extensively used for conversion into vermillion. The supplies came from China and Europe. There was a fall in price in the early decades of the seventeenth century and Dutch business at Surat competed successfully with English imports. Though a period of short rise followed, private trade continued to keep prices down. The demand for quicksilver was however 'insistent though limited'.

Commerce in other articles.

Mention should be made of the 'toy trade'. Toys were imported to be used as presents. In common with other companies the Dutch had to keep in stock articles of presentation. Van Ravestyn reported that all manner of curiosities should be sent to India 'particularly for the great Moghul': 'pictures of landscapes and personages', 'mirrors as tall as a man with frames wrought with festoon' 'fine grey hounds and some strong dogs which will tackle tigers' etc. He described the Emperor Jehangir as 'an amateur of all rarities and antiquities'.

9. It is not correct to say that conditions were ever rosy for the Dutch. Competition was always keen, rivals were not wanting at Amsterdam itself, they were also the subjects of the 'farm' system and reprisals were by no means uncommon. They were however able to successfully contend against their Portuguese and Protestant rivals. The peculiar favour they enjoyed with the Moghul administration must have stood them in good stead. For instance, in 1624 they effected an agreement with Prince Khurram and they were free from all restrictions in the trade with the Red Sea. An imperial firman issued in 1634 exempted them from all tolls and dues in Western India. When seven years

Conditions of Trade in India.

later the vexatious duties were again levied and the firman found useless, they lost no time in conciliating the officials and a new firman was obtained that protected them ever after.

APPENDIX.

I. ROE ON THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH COMPANIES:

"It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it, yet his garrisons are mean. He never profited by the Indies since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their dead payes consume all their gains. Let this be received as a rule that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade; for without controversy, it is an error to affect garrisons and landwars in India."

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. edited by W. Foster, (Hakluyt Society) Vol. ii. p. 344.

II. DUPLEIX ON THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH COMPANIES:

"The English Company is bound to die out. It has long been in an impecunious condition and what it had to its credit has been lent to the king whose overthrow is certain. The loss of its capital is therefore inevitable and this must lead to collapse. Mark my words. The truth of them will be brought home to you when you ere long find that my prophecy has been realized. In like manner the Dutch company is destined to share a similar fate. Its expenses continue to be enormous, whilst its trade has considerably decreased. The Dutch are moreover in great straits, now that the towns in the countries bordering Holland have become possessions of the French as have also the cities and the provinces on both the banks of the river which debouches into the sea in their country. This circumstance is particularly disagreeable to them as the sea and the river form their chief means of communication. Further the Dutch company is robbed by the very people who are in its service and consequently the latter enrich themselves at the cost of the company—which becomes proportionately impoverished. The occupations of the Dutch are solely confined to trade and commerce and their state owns no territorial possessions. These causes must conduce to the collapse

before long of this company also. About 200 towns belonging to the Dutch were captured last year by the king of France who however influenced by certain motives afterwards restored them. But having been disappointed in its expectations, he has again commenced military operations resulting in a serious loss of life and property. If princes hurry themselves into any act without due forethought, their undertakings must be attended by consequences affecting human lives and fortunes."

Entry for 1746. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Vol. ii. p. 81.

(Cp. Ananda Ranga Pillai: 'I concurred with the sentiments which he had expressed and related certain anecdotes by way of illustration the aptitude of which he admitted.'—ibid . p. 82.).

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Early Pandyan Chronology *

63

BY

MR. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI M.A.

I

UNTIL the recovery of the larger Śinnamanūr plates and the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, Pāṇḍyan history before the Cōḷa conquest of Madura was a blank. Although noticed in his list of Antiquities by Sewell in the eighties of the last century, the Śinnamanūr plates became available for study only in 1907; the text was edited first in the *Śentamizh* by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar in Vol. XXIII, 1924-5 and again by Mr. Krishna Sastri in the South Indian Inscriptions in 1929. Likewise, the Vēḷvikuḍi grant was brought to the notice of Venkayya as early as 1893 by Fleet; its contents were noticed by him in 1908; the text was edited first by Mr. K. G. Sankaran in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* Vol. X and in the *Śentamizh* Vol. XX and subsequently by Mr. Krishna Sastri in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVII. On a proper interpretation of the data furnished by these two sets of copper-plates depends the history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom for a period of three centuries before Parāntaka Cōḷa attacked Rājasimha and captured Madura about A. D. 910, thus paving the way for the annexation of the Southern kingdom to the newly risen power of the Cōḷas. The contents of these two early Pāṇḍyan charters may be reproduced for easy reference.[1]

From the Vēḷvikuḍi grant.

Pāṇḍya: a mythical king of a past *kalpa* born in this *kalpa* as Budha, son of the Moon.

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Purūravas.
In his family

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* It is much to be regretted that the article above makes wide departures from the system of transliteration adopted by the Journal of Indian History. To avoid delay it has been allowed to pass and similar lapses will be avoided for the future.—Editor.

[1] *S. I. I.* III p. 446.

Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvazhudi: an *Adhirāja* of the Pāṇḍyas.

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Inter-regnum in the Pāṇḍya country.

The Kali king Kaḷabhran: drove away numberless Adhirājas before him and took possession of the Earth (i.e., usurped the Pāṇḍya country).

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(1) Pāṇḍyādhirāja Kaḍungōn: recovered the Pāṇḍya country from the enemy, i.e., the usurper Kaḷabhran.

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(2) Avanicūḷāmaṇi Māṛavarman.

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(3) Śezhiyan Vānavan Śēndan: the over-lord of the hill chiefs.

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(4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Māṛavarman: won a battle at Pāzhi; and another at Nelvēli; destroyed the Paravas; annihilated the race of the people of Kuṛu-nāḍu; gained victory at Śennilam and fought the battle of Puliyūr against the Kēraḷa king.

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(5) Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra: lord of the Kongas; entitled Tennan, Vānavan, Śembiyan, Śozhan and the beautiful Karuṇāṭakan; defeated Āyvēḷ at Marudūr; gained victories at Śengōḍu and Pudānkōḍu(?); and destroyed the Mahārathas at Mangalapura.

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(6) Māṛan Rājasimha (I): fought a battle at Neḍuvayal; defeated his enemies at Kuṛumaḍai; destroyed their power at Mannikuṛicci and Tirumangai; defeated insubordinate chiefs at Pūvalūr; won a victory at Koḍumbāḷūr; crushed the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr and at Periyalūr; crossed the Kāviri (Kāvērí) and conquered Mazha-Kongam; reached Pāṇḍi-koḍumuḍi; contracted relationship

with Gangarāja; renewed Kūḍal, Vañji and Kōzhi (?); and married a daughter of the Mazhava king.

(7) Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan: entitled Kongarkōn, king of the Nēriyar (i.e., the Cōḷas); Paṇḍitavatsala, Kalippagai, Punappūzhiyan, Śinaccōzhan, Srīvaran, Tennan, and Vānavan, defeated the Kāḍava king at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the northern bank of the Kāvērī; drove away Āyvēḷ and the Kuṟumbas at Nāṭṭukkuṟumbu; married a daughter of Gangarāja and renewed the grant of Vēḷvikuḍi. His minister fought a battle at Veṇbai in which the opponents were the Vallabha and the Pūrvarājar (kings of the East).

From the bigger Śinnamanūr plates.

The Pāṇḍyas were descended from the Moon; had Agastya for their family priest. In this family were born (*a*) a king who subdued and relieved Vijaya (i.e., Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu, (*b*) Sundara-Pāṇḍya, a helmsman in the ocean of *Śāstras*, (*c*) a king whose surname was Pūzhiyan, (*d*) a king who stood firmly in the field of battle at Pāzhi and obtained the title Pañcavan, (*e*) the builder of Madura with its surrounding wall, (*f*) a king who cut off the heads of two kings in the battles at Citramuyari and Talaiyālangānam.

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Arikēsari Parānkuśa: king of the Pañcavas; defeated the Cēra king at Nelvēli and the Pallava king at Śankaramangai.

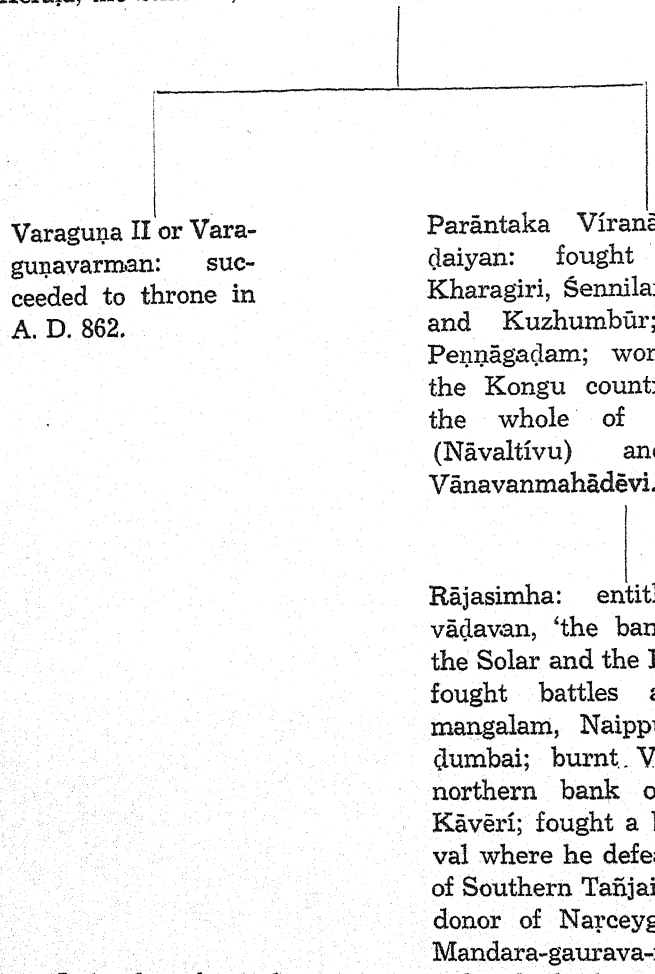
Jaṭila.

Rājasimha.

Varaguṇa (I) or Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.

Śrī-Māra, Śrīvallabha, Paracakrākōlāhala: fought successful battles at Kuṇṇūr, Śingaḷam and Vizhiñam; defeated at Kuḍamūk-

kil the Ganga, Pallava, Cōḷa, etc., conquered Māyā-pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa, the Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha.



It is clear from the summaries that both the grants record some legendary and quasi-historical events at the outset, and then proceed to give a regular genealogy with a brief history of each reign for several generations beginning with Kaḍungōn in the one case and Arikēsari Parānkuśa in the other.

The question is how to combine the genealogies furnished by these two grants into one continuous scheme. The decision of this matter is beset with several difficulties. Neither of these grants is dated; the number of dated stone inscriptions of the early Pāṇḍya kings is very small; even these few dated inscriptions are not free from obscurities as they often give only the titles Māṛanśaḍaiyan or Śaḍaiyan-māṛan without the personal names of the

monarch in whose reign the inscription was engraved. Venkayya who was the first to deal with this question stated: "I am not quite sure how and where the names furnished by the Vēḷvikuḍi grant fit into the tentative genealogy derived from the Śinnamanūr plates", and gave the following table:[2]

Pāṇḍyādhirāja Paramēśvara Palśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvazhudi.

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Kaḷabhra interregnum.

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1. Kadungōn Pāṇḍyādhirāja.

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2. Adhirāja Māṛavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi.

|

3. Śezhiyan Śēndan.

|

4. Māṛavarman Arikēsarin Asamasaman, defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli.

|

5. Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhíra; fought the battle of Marudūr; defeated Maharatha in the city of Mangalapuram.

|

6. Arikēsarin Parānkuśa Māṛavarman Tēr-Māṛan; defeated the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr; conquered the Pallavas at Śanakaramangai; Rājasimha (I) defeated Pallavamalla; renewed the walls of Kūḍal, Vañji and Kōzhi.

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[2] *A. R. E.* Annual report on Epigraphy—1908, II 28.

7. Jaṭila Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka; defeated the Kāḍava at Peṇṇāgaḍam; (donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant,) A.D. 769-70.

8. Rājasimha (II).

9. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja; *Jayantavarman* (?)

10. Śṛīmāra Śrīvallabha Ēkavīra Paracakra-kōḷāhala; conquered Māyā-Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷa, Pallava and Vallabha; *Pallava-bhanjana.*

11. Varaguṇavarman; ascended the throne in A.D. 862-863.

12. Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan; fought at Kharagiri and destroyed Peṇṇāgaḍam; married Vānavanmahādevi, *Jaṭila Neḍunjaḍaiyan* (donor of the Madras Museum and smaller Śinnamanūr plates?).

13. Rājasimha (III) Mandaragaurava Abhimānamēru.

Venkayya also pointed out that this table depended for its validity on the correctness of some 'facts and surmises' the overthrow of any of which by future research may render necessary a reconsideration of the whole genealogy. There were three considerations put forward by him in support of his scheme; two of these viz., the identity of Rājasimha of the Śinnamanūr plates with the Pāṇḍya king overthrown by Parāntaka Cōḷa, and that of Neḍunjaḍaiyan of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant with Māṛanjaḍaiyan of Ānaimalai cave inscription, have stood the test of time and may be accepted as correct. But the paleographical argument of Venkayya has not turned out to be so happy. He said: "Neḍunjaḍaiyan of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant cannot be identical with his namesake of the Madras Museum plates, but the former must be earlier than the

latter". It is now recognised on all hands that this view is wrong, and that there is nothing in the paleography of the Madras Museum plates which would justify a later date for them than that of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant.[3] Venkayya stated further: "The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and the smaller Śinnamanūr plates are probably nearer in point of time to the larger Śinnamanūr plates than they are to the Vēḷvikuḍi grant". This statement, now antiquated by the fact that the Museum plates and the Vēḷvikuḍi grant are ascribed to the same ruler, is still of interest as in part accounting for Venkayya's arrangement of the genealogy of the early Pāṇḍya kings. The three generations interposed by him between the donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, the donor, according to Venkayya, of the Museum plates are in some measure the result of his views on the relative intervals separating these plates from one another. As these views are now seen clearly to be untenable, one of the chief "surmises" supporting Venkayya's system of genealogy no longer holds good, and it is necessary to ré-examine the genealogy in the light of this and other relevant facts.

II

I ventured in my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* to suggest a scheme of ten generations comprising eleven rulers, 'short-circuiting' the pedigree accepted by previous writers, as Mr. F. J. Richards puts it, by two generations, and making "a very fine man of Varaguṇa".[4] In other words, I identified Arikēsari Parānkuśa of the Śinnamanūr plates with Arikēsari Asamasaman (No. 4) of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant instead of with Rājasimha I (No. 6) as Venkayya had done, and following him, others. This resulted in Jaṭila Parāntaka being identified with Varaguṇa Mahārāja; it also meant that two long reigns, those of Varaguṇa-mahārāja and of his son, took the place of the four shorter reigns of Varaguṇa I, Rājasimha II, Varaguṇa II and Śrī-Māra of Venkayya's scheme.

Not only has no reason been found so far for going back on the scheme put forward by me, but some more positive reasons for its being preferred to the other may now be urged, and it is my object here to do this and to consider some of the other opinions that have been offered on the subject.

[3] See my *Pandyan Kingdom* pp. 42-44 for a full discussion of this point.
[4] *J. R. A. S.* 1930 p. 945.

One remarkable thing may be mentioned at the outset. In 1907, discussing the stone records of Māṛanjaḍaiyan, after ascribing some of them to Varaguṇa II (acc A.D. 862), Mr. Venkayya observed:[5] "About other inscriptions dated in the reign of Māṛanjaḍaiyan, we cannot be quite sure if they belong to Varaguṇa, or to one or more kings different from him. For instance, at Mānūr in the Tinnevelly district is a record belonging to the 37th year of Māṛanjaḍaiyan (No. 423 of 1906), whose identity with any of these kings on the genealogical table cannot now be established. For the present, at any rate, those inscriptions of Māṛanjaḍaiyan, which cannot without doubt be assigned to any of the kings in the foregoing genealogical table, must be kept distinct from No. 5 Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and No. 7 Varaguṇa Varman." In the epigraphical report recently issued we read again:[6] "One other record (No. 12), in Vaṭṭezhuttu, belonging to a Māṛanjaḍaiyan comes from Daḷapatisamudram in the Tinnevelly district, and it is dated in the 6th year opposite the 35th of the reign. We cannot say who this Pāṇḍya king was; but we may note that at Mānūr in the same district there is a record (423 of 1906) of a Māṛanjaḍaiyan, similarly dated in the 35th year—469th day. Another record of a Māṛanjaḍaiyan bearing the high regnal year 43 (No. 605 of 1915) has been copied at Ēruvāḍi, a village three miles from Daḷapatisamudram. It is left to future research to settle who the Pāṇḍya king was that had such high regnal years".[7] Now one may hesitate to accept as valid a scheme that causes so much difficulty in finding a reasonable disposal for the records that undoubtedly belong to the period with which we are concerned. It cannot be doubted that Māṛanjaḍaiyan with these high regnal years was one of the powerful Early Pāṇḍyas of the First Empire.

It should cause no surprise that, though this king held sway for such a long time and certainly over a wide stretch of country outside the bounds of the traditional Pāṇḍya Kingdom, his records are not found in any considerable number outside the southern parts of his dominions. This feature characterising the provenance of these early records is only proof of the many changes that have come over the monuments of the Cōḷa country and other tracts in the course of subsequent centuries. The numberless renovations of ancient temples undertaken in the Cōḷa period of

[5] *A. R. E.* 1907 II 21.
[6] *A. R. E.* 1929 II 8.
[7] 104 of 1905 of the 39th year from Ambāsamudram; and 863 of 1917 of the 42 year from Kaḷugumalai may also be mentioned.

South Indian history must have led to the destruction * of most of the ancient records, especially where they had been originally engraved, like the inscriptions of the early Pāṇḍya kings, in Vaṭṭezhuttu characters.

Now, the Ānamalai inscription of A.D. 769-70 and Aivarmalai record which yields A.D. 862 for the accession of Varaguṇa Varman II leave barely an interval of ninety two years to be filled, in accordance with the arrangement suggested by Mr. Venkayya,[8] by a part of the reign of Jaṭila-Parāntaka and three generations of rulers succeeding him one after another. There is little room here, therefore for a reign of over forty years, which is required by the Māṛanjaḍaiyan records under discussion. Considering the position after A.D. 862 for a moment, what we find is that the next sure date is furnished by the conquest of Madura by Parāntaka I Cōḷa, which is mentioned as early as A.D. 910. We also know that Varaguṇa II was ruling about A.D. 880, the date of the battle of Śrípuṛambiyam in which the Ganga Prithivípati I, whose last known inscription is dated in A. D. 879, lost his life. The interval between this date A.D. 880, and the Cōḷa conquest of Madura, *c.* A.D. 910-20, is taken up by the closing years of the reign of Varaguṇa II, and the rule of Parāntaka Víranārāyaṇa, both of them Māṛanjaḍaiyans, and by the opening years of Rājasimha, the Pāṇḍya who, according to the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivípati II, was attacked and overthrown by Cōḷa Parāntaka I. Here again there seems to be no room for a reign of over forty years. Earlier than A.D. 770, there is only one Śaḍaiyan expressly so called, Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhíra; of him we do not know much, but if it is correct to identify his father, the Victor of Nelvēli with the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandhar, it is not possible for Raṇadhira to be assigned as long a period of rule as the late Māṛanjaḍaiyan records would require. Śēndan and Kaḍungōn, also perhaps Śaḍaiyans, though not so described anywhere, are really too early in point of time for these records to be assigned to them, or indeed for any of their records to have come down

* In regard to this statement it must be borne in mind that the Cholas insisted upon the careful preservation of these records either by re-setting them or by setting copies of them where the original were too far gone. For a circular of Rajendra I and note of its having been carried out, refer to Nos. 651 and 652 of Tirumalavāḍi in the Tanjore District (p. 182 Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India, Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered by me). For a similar circular of Rāja-rāja III &c. see Epigraphist's Report: Sec. 32 of 1911 and Sec. 41 of 1913.—Editor.

[8] *A. R. E.* 1908 II 28.

to us among the inscriptions we are concerned with. Considerations like these weighed greatly with me when I suggested the deletion from Mr. Venkayya's list of Rājasimha II (8)[9] and Varaguṇa-Mahāraja (9) on the ground that they were obviously identical with Rājasimha I (6) and Jaṭila Parāntaka (7), and also assigned a long reign of about fifty years to Jaṭila Parāntaka, who was a Māṛanjaḍaiyan with the name Varaguṇa.[10] We have also a Śaḍaiya-māṛan record of the 46th year which, though a Tamil record, perhaps belongs to this period also.[11] As my book was passing through the press, there appeared Mr. Krishna Sastri's edition of the Śinnamanūr plates in the *South Indian Inscriptions* which sought to reinforce the position of Mr. Venkayya by some fresh arguments. These I have examined in a long note at the end of my book and I need not repeat the discussion here. I must say, however, that on further consideration I have had to conclude that 'Vilvēli' is not a proper name[12] and that consequently that part of the argument of Mr. Krishna Sastri which is based on this assumption cannot be taken to be of much value.

III

One critic of my scheme formulates his criticism in the following terms:[13] "At the present stage, only three dates are well-known, i.e., (1) A.D. 862 the date of Varaguṇa varman's accession. (2) A.D. 770 for the donor of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, and (3) A.D. 642, the date of the destruction of Vātāpi, the Cāḷukya capital. Mr. Śāstri has given tentative dates allowing thirty years for Kaḍūngon, twenty-five years each for Avani-Śūḷāmaṇi and Śēndan, forty years for Arikēsari Māṛa-varman or Niṇṛa Śīr Neḍumāṛan, thirty years for Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhíra, twenty-five years for Rājasimha, fifty years for the donor of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and forty seven years for Śrí Māra Śrívallabha. In the absence of much evidence in giving unduly long periods for the last two monarchs here named, we feel too diffident to rely upon Mr. Śāstri's dates. Scholars know that Saint Appar converted Mahēndravarman who ruled from *circa* A.D. 600 to 625. Appar was also moving about from place to place with his friend saint

[9] The numbers in brackets are those of Venkayya's table.

[10] *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* p. 40.

[11] 440 of 1907. I must note, however, that Venkayya was inclined to think it a later record of about the time of Rājēndra 1 Cōḷa—*A. R. E.* 1908 p. 59.

[12] *J. O. R.* Vol. V. p. 73.

[13] *J. I. H.* 1929 p. 279.

Sambandhar, who is known to have cured Ninṛa Śīr Neḍumāṛan of his fever. If the Neḍumaran in question ruled from 670 to 710, it is highly doubtful if Appar could have been alive, and if alive, strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders and get mixed in the crowd of Sambandar's followers, as is narrated in his life. It is almost certain, therefore, that Neḍumāṛan, the saint, should have mounted the throne much earlier than A.D. 670. These difficulties can be conveniently avoided by accepting roughly the following dates:—Kaḍungōn 562-592; Avani Śūḷāmaṇi 592-622; Śēndan 622-652; Ninṛa Śīr Neḍumāṛan 652-682; Raṇadhīra 682-712; Arikēsari II 712-742; Kōccaḍaiyan (donor) 742-772; Rājasimha 772-802; Varaguṇa Mahārāja 802-832; Śrī Māṛa Śrīvallabha 832-862; Varaguṇa Varman 862 to (?)".

There are raised two objections to my scheme in this criticism: *first* that there is no warrant for the long reigns assigned by me to the donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi plates, and to his son and successor Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. This objection is based, as must have become clear from the observations made earlier in this paper, on an inadequate appreciation of the epigraphical evidence relating to the period. It is the high regnal years in some of the Māṛanjaḍaiyan records, and the utter impossibility of finding out anything about the history of Rājasiṃha II and Varaguṇa I (on Mr. Venkayya's scheme) from the Śinnamanūr grant or from any other source, that led me to suspect some mistake in the scheme of identifications of Mr. Venkayya and ultimately to put forward the alternative actually adopted by me. So long as there are no intrinsic objections to it and a better arrangement does not come into view, I see no reason to be frightened by one long reign succeeding another. I can only draw attention once more to the analagous case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Dantivarman.

The second objection is based on the difficulty of fitting into my scheme the known facts relating to the lives of the Śaiva saints. After making out an apparently strong case for dating the accession of Ninṛa Śīr Neḍumāṛan much earlier than I do, the suggestion is offered that his reign may be assigned to the period 652 to 682, my own dates being 670 to 710. All these dates are approximate, and for practical purposes these two sets of dates are near enough to be treated as being substantially in agreement. No one can be quite sure for instance that Mahēndravarman's reign closed in A.D. 625; and did not, in fact, extend up to 630—the date adopted by Mr. Gopalan for the end of the reign, or even 635 A.D. Again, we should remember that Appar had by tradition—and in dealing with the lives of the Saints we are all trafficking in tradition, sometimes rather too freely—a very long life as is seen

from the mnemonic verse that assigns to him a life of eighty-one years.[14] I may mention, incidentally, that my difficulty has always been not in regard to Appar, but about the relation among Śiṛuttoṇḍar, Neḍumāṛan and Gnānasambandar.[15] Tradition says that Gnānasambandar did not live beyond the age of sixteen and that he was entertained once as a guest by Śiṛuttoṇḍar of Vātāpi fame.[16] With the destruction of Vātāpi in A.D. 642, it is difficult to fit in the date provided by Śēkkizhār on the lives of the saints even with A.D. 652 as the starting date for Neḍumāṛan's rule; with A.D. 670 for the accession of Neḍumāṛan there is no possible method of working the data from Śaiva hagiology into the chronological scheme. If an objection is to be urged against my scheme from the standpoint of religious legends relating to the period, but narrated for the first time with great conciseness by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi in the 10th or 11th century, and much more elaborately by Śēkkizhār in the twelfth, the difficulty of adjusting the facts of the lives of Śiṛuttoṇḍar and Sambandar is much more serious than that relating to the age of Appar. Appar as I have pointed out lived to a ripe old age of 81, and assuming that he converted Mahēndravarman sometime between A.D. 625 and 635 there is nothing intrinsically improbable in meetings between him and Sambandar about A.D. 670-680. And it may be noted, in passing, that we have at present no sure means of dating the conversion to Śaivism either of Mahēndravarman or of Neḍumāṛan. To object that if Appar was alive about A.D. 670-80 he would not have been strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders is to confound Śēkkizhār's hint of a ceremonial courtesy on the part of Appar towards his fellow-apostle Sambandar with the rough work of a day-labourer.

The difficulty about Śiṛuttoṇḍar does indeed appear insuperable at first sight. If we must accept Śēkkizhār's statements as based on a correct tradition, if A.D. 642 is the only possible date for an expedition against Vāṭāpi, and if it is true that Sambandar died at the early age of sixteen, the scheme of Pāṇḍyan chronology which advocates so late a date as A.D. 670 for the accession of Neḍumāṛan is doomed. But, very cogent reasons have been shown[17] for holding that there was another and a later raid on Vātāpi towards the close of the reign of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya I

[14] Apparukkembattonṛu, etc.
[15] *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 54, n. 1.
[16] *Periyapuranām, Śiṛuttoṇḍar* VV. 23 and 24, and *Sambandar* 468 ff.
[17] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—*The Madras Christian College Magazine* 1927—pp. 236 ff.

in the years A.D. 674-80, soon after the celebrated battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, and that the "City of Raṇarasika" captured by Paramēśvaravarman I Pallava was no other than Vātāpi. There is nothing in the narration by Śēkkizhār of the life of Śiṛuttoṇḍar that precludes our connecting that warrior-saint with this second raid against the 'City of Raṇarasika,' *'Vātāpi-ttonnagaram'*, as Sēkkizhār more explicitly puts it. * And this, it seems to me, is the best course to adopt in reconciling all known data drawn from literary tradition and epigraphy. And this date for the raid by Śiṛuttoṇḍar on Vātāpi, it will be seen, fits in with my scheme of early Pāṇḍyan chronology.

IV

In editing three Tamil inscriptions from Lālguḍi in *Epigraphia Indica*,[18] Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar arrives at the conclusion that the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa Mahārāja I came to the throne in A.D. 811. If this conclusion is correct, my scheme by which I identify the donor of Vēlvikudi grant whose accession I place at about A.D. 765 with Varaguṇa Mahārāja I must be wrong and will have to give place to a more reasonable arrangement which must be sought most probably in the thirteen generations suggested by Mr. Venkayya. As the issue thus raised is very important, I must necessarily undertake a careful examination of the grounds on which Mr. Aiyar bases his conclusion regarding the accession of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I.

As I understand Mr. Aiyar's arguments put forward in the article cited above, I may sum up the leading steps in his demonstration in the following propositions:

(i) The two inscriptions 'A' and 'B' are dated in the same manner. They both 'give some year opposite to the fourth'; consequently they must both be ascribed to the same ruler, who is called Māṛanjaḍaiyan and Varaguṇa Mahārāja in 'B'.

*It is just possible that the 'City of Raṇarasika' may not be Vātāpi. Parameśvara's invasion during the years 674-80 is a bare possibility, but the probabilities are that it is an earlier achievement if it is one distinct from the destruction of Vātāpi in 642. The association of Siruttoṇḍar with the possible second destruction of Vātāpi lays it open to almost a similar objection to what is sought to be got over. That the carrying of the palanquin by Appar as 'the rough work of a day labourer' would seem to exhibit ignorance of the honour done to learning in what is called *Brahma-ratha*. Men of learning honouring exhibition of special ability by this act of appreciation—carrying the learned man in a palanquin. The objection to the ceremonial courtesy would be equally valid if Appar was venerably old.—Editor.

[18] Vol. XX pp. 46-54.

(ii) 'A' mentions Tellārerindu-Venra Nandipōttaraiyar, and therefore he must have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I in his fifth year.

(iii) From the *Mahāvaṁśa* we learn that Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's rule covered the last three years of Dappula's reign viz., 840-843, and must have commenced about A.D. 840; as the latest regnal year known of his predecessor Varaguṇa I is the seventeenth, he must have begun to rule about A.D. 823, though "it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier."

(iv) His contemporary Nandivarman III took part together with the Raṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III in the coronation of Śivamāra II Ganga. The last year of Gōvinda III is 814; the coronation of Śivamara II may therefore be placed about 812 and Nandivarman III must have been ruling by this time in his own right as he is said to have been himself a crowned king at the time of Śivamāra's coronation. It is unlikely he started earlier. This again means that Varaguṇa Mahārāja I could not have begun to rule earlier than about A.D. 807.

(v) The limits of Varaguṇa's first year being thus fixed between 807 and 823, the actual date is calculated to be A.D. 811 from two records of the thirteenth year which preserve astronomical details that admit of verification.

Let us consider each of these steps in turn. First, about the classification of the early Pāṇḍyan inscriptions according to the method of dating adopted in them. Mr. Aiyar follows the rule that all records dated with two figures, of which the first is 4 must be assigned to Māṛanjaḍaiyan and he draws attention to a number of such records in his paper.[19] But it is not easy to see how such an important rule of interpretation comes to be assumed as if it were self-evident and required no proof or discussion for its acceptance. After a long consideration of this question, I have had to come to the conclusion that the adoption of such a rule in interpreting the early Pāṇḍyan records of the reigns of Māṛan-Śaḍaiyan and Śaḍaiya-Māṛan is unwarranted in the extreme and is apt to give altogether a wrong turn to our understanding of the history of the period. It is obviously impossible to find arguments that do not beg the question from these inscriptions themselves either for or against the rule assumed by Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar. But the Pāṇḍyan kings continued the system of double dates right through history, and a study of the method as it is employed in periods in

[19] *Ibid* p. 48 n. 2.

which the identity of particular kings is established beyond doubt is bound to throw light on the method as it was employed in an earlier age. And what do we find as a result of the study of such examples? No one has ever proposed to postutlate more than one Pāṇḍyan king of the name of "Vīra Pāṇḍya" with the title "Śōzhan-talai-koṇḍa"; and we find that the records of this king are dated in all sorts of ways: Nos. 548, 624 and 625 of 1926 are all Vaṭṭezhuttu records of this king who belongs to the period immediately following Parāntaka's conquest of Madura, and we find these records dated respectively as 13+2, 4+5, and 5+5. There are other records of his which have a single date and do not bear a double-date. Take a later king—Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, celebrated in mediaeval Pāṇḍyan history for his conquest of the Cōḷa kingdom and restoration of Pāṇḍyan glory; besides ordinary single dates (100 of 1907), his records exhibit all the following variations in the method of quoting regnal years: 5+1 (93 of 1907); 20+1 (96 of 1907); 20+1+1 (107 and 108 of 1907) and year 20+849th day (124 of 1907). In fact as the numbers of the records show, I have chosen these examples from a casual look into the pages of the report for 1907-8. Others, quite similar, can be quoted from the period of the decline.[20] The most natural inference to make is that as in the later periods, so in the earlier one, we cannot expect any adherence to any set form of quoting the regnal years in the records of any single ruler; and consequently we may well hesitate to admit that all records with the first figure 4 in a double-date necessarily belong to a single Māṛanjaḍaiyan, or that his records were not also dated in other ways, with other first figures, or with only single dates, or with a date containing some year and some days e.g., 35+469 days. Any one who contends that the Early Pāṇḍyan kings differed from all their successors in the manner of expressing their regnal years in their inscriptions will have to establish that thesis by producing evidence much stronger than a mere assumption which goes contrary to the most legitimate inference that can be made from records of the same dynasty of all the succeeding centuries. Till this is done the first of the propositions given above which concludes that both 'A' and 'B' must, from the manner of their dating, belong to the same reign must be declared 'not proven'.

The second proposition not only depends for its validity entirely on the correctness of the first, but loses force also in another way. As Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has himself very

[20] *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* p. 7 and n.

clearly pointed out, the inscription is from a group of copies of earlier records "made probably when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they may be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era".[21] We can hardly be too careful in dealing with such copies as they often contain the most egregious blunders imaginable. Take for instance an inscription from Cidambaram[22] which combines the historical introductions of two Rājēndra-cōḷas, both of them Parakēsaris, and dates itself in the twenty-fourth year of a Rājakēsari Rājēndracōḷa-dēva. It is by no means easy to see how such a jumble can arise; and yet, there it is in a copy made undoubtedly at a time when the dynasty of the Cōḷas was still ruling in the Tamil country in full splendour, possibly within a century after the time of Rājēndra I. There are numerous mistakes, equally curious and puzzling, in the inscriptions from Tirupati, several of which are late copies of earlier originals. Among the copies at Lālgudi itself, there is clearly one record, professedly of the time of Nandivarman III, the king mentioned in inscription 'A' under discussion, which is beyond doubt spurious. Of this inscription,[23] we read in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (1929) as follows: "There is a clear reference in the well-preserved portion of the record to a temple called Arinjigai-Iśvaram built at Parāntakapuram. As the temple and the village should have been so named after the Cōḷa kings Arinjaya and his father Parāntaka I who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D., their mention in a record which purports to be three generations earlier, stamps it as spurious. It is to be noted, however, that the inscription is not expressly stated to be a copy." It must be added here, to avoid misunderstanding, that none of the Lālgudi inscriptions is expressly stated to be a copy. But there can be no doubt that most of them are copies.[24] The result of this fact is, that even if we ignore the objections to proposition (i) above, it is by no means settled that we can be sure either of the date of the record 'A' or of the name of the king mentioned therein; and we must be chary of using such dubious data in extensive chronological reconstructions.

Let us now turn to the third argument which seeks light on Pāṇḍyan chronology from the Ceylonese chronicle. Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar does not explain in the article under review how the

[21] *E. I.* XX p. 47.
22 118 of 1888, *S. I. I.* IV No. 223.
[23] No. 144 of 1928-9. *A. R. E.* 1929 II 4.
[24] *Ibid* II 6; also *E. I.* XX p. 47 quoted above.

Mahāvamśa account implies that Śrímāra Śrí Vallabha's reign covered the last three years of Dappula's rule A.D. 840-3. It is perhaps natural and proper to assume that the views on this subject expressed elsewhere are still held by him. In his *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*,[25] the learned author says: "The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamśa* states that Aggabōdhi IX ruled for three years from A.D. 843 to 846 and after him his younger brother Śilāmēgha Sēna I raised the canopy of dominion and reigned for twenty years from A.D. 846 to 866. Thus these two sovereigns are contemporaries of Śrímāra. We are told in the *Mahāvamśa* that during the reign of Aggabōdhi's father Dappula, his brother's son Mahinda was not raised to the rank of a governor as was the custom. It is said that this course was adopted in order to secure the throne to Aggabōdhi and Sēna. Mahinda and his brothers then went to the opposite coast (i.e., the Pāṇḍya country) for help and returned to the island when Dappula died. Dappula's sons Aggabōdhi and Sēna killed them in a battle. This was probably the reason for the invasion of Ceylon by the Pāṇḍya king Śrí Māra." In this summary of the transactions narrated in the *Mahāvamśa*, Mr. Aiyar has not kept close to his text and has introduced assumptions that find no warrant in the text or the translations of the *Mahāvamśa*. This work, indeed, states that, apparently in defiance of the normal law of succession in Ceylon, Dappula did not appoint Mahinda, his elder brother's son, as *āḍipāda*, heir-apparent, his motive being to secure the succession to his own sons Aggabōdhi and Sēna.[26] But when exactly in Dappula's reign this supersession of Mahinda took place is not stated, and Dappula had a reign of sixteen years ending with A.D. 843. It is therefore difficult to see why this event should be assigned to the last three years of Dappula's reign. There is also nothing whatever in the *Mahāvamśa* that can support Mr. Aiyar's statements that Mahinda returned to Ceylon after Dappula died and that he was killed in a battle by the sons of Dappula. The *Mahāvamśa* states distinctly that Sēna, the successor of Aggabōdhi IX, had Mahinda who had betaken himself to the opposite shore, slain by agents.[27] Mahinda therefore neither returned to Ceylon nor died in battle. It is only fair to state, however, that Wijesinha's translation is not a little misleading at this point as Geiger has shown in his recent editions of the text and translation of the Cūlavamśa, as the later chapters

[25] pp. 137-8.
[26] Ch. 49 v. 84.
[27] Ch. 50, v. 4.

of the *Mahāvaṁśa* are called.[28] Lastly, there is nothing to connect the Ceylonese invasion of Śrīmāra Pāṇḍya with the fortunes of Mahinda. The story of Mahinda, the dispossessed prince of the elder line comes to an end with his assassination, and after the lapse of some years since Sēna I consolidated his position on the throne by getting rid of Mahinda and in other ways, then, "once later came the Pāṇḍu king with a great force from Jambudípa and began to take possession of the Island."[29] Thus the Pāṇḍyan invasion of Ceylon in Sēna's reign stands in no sort of relation whatever to what happened to Mahinda either in Dappula's reign or at any time thereafter.

Not only is there nothing to support the assumption that Śrīmāra's reign overlapped the reign of Dappula in the last three years, but the assumption, if made, is sure to upset altogether Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar's conclusions on early Pāṇḍyan Chronology. Since Wijesinha's time, Ceylonese chronology has been the subject of much close study and discussion, and the most authoritative summary of the results so far reached is to be found in the pages of Prof. Geiger's masterly edition of the Cūḷavamsa already mentioned. Now, according to the scheme of this scholar, Dappula's reign ended in A.D. 828.[30] If Mr. Aiyar is right in his idea that Śrīmāra's rule commenced three years earlier, the beginning of his rule would fall about A.D. 825. The latest known regnal year of his predecessor Varguṇa I being the seventeenth according to Mr. Aiyar, his rule must have commenced about A.D. 808 which would be three years before the date of accession actually advocated for him by Mr. Aiyar; and if "it is not impossible" that he had a longer reign than seventeen years, the discrepancy becomes much greater. The argument from the *Mahāvaṁśa* summed up in the third of the five propositions given above thus breaks down at all points and proves itself utterly incapable of sustaining the conclusions sought to be deduced by Mr. Aiyar.

V

The argument of the fourth proposition rests on the fact that at the coronation of Śivamāra II Ganga, both the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III and the Pallava Nandivarman III were present. If this fact is established, the rest of the argument follows more or less as a necessary consequence; the last date for Gōvinda III being 814, the event in which he took part may be placed about 812 by

[28] See Geiger, *Culavamsa*—1 p. 136 n. 3 *contra* Wijesimha p. 61 vv. 84-7.
[29] Ch. 50 v. 12.
[30] *Op. cit.* II p. XII No. 51. (109).

which time Nandivarman III must have begun his rule; and as Nandi III was, according to Mr. Aiyar, the contemporary of Māṛanjaḍaiyan in his fifth year, the latter could not have begun his rule earlier than 807. But the trouble lies in establishing the basic fact on which this argument proceeds, and considering the weight of the argument that is made to rest on it, we cannot test its correctness too carefully.

The assurance with which Mr. Aiyar takes this fact for granted is indeed surprising. He says: "We learn from the Western Ganga grants that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarma—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa"[31] and the only reference he gives is to an article of Fleet in the course of which he discusses, among other things, the spurious Maṇṇe grant, dated in A.D. 797, containing the statement on which Mr. Aiyar relies so much. But Fleet's discussion of this grant must have been sufficient warning to Mr. Aiyar that he was moving on treacherous ground. For this is what Fleet says after giving a translation of the relevant portion of the Maṇṇe grant:[32] "Gōvindarāja seems to be the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, whose reign began about A.D. 783-4 and ended in A.D. 814-15; Śivamāra II was undoubtedly contemporaneous with him towards the end of his reign; and we shall find reasons, further on, for believing that he did assist or recognise the succession of Sívamāra II to the leadership of the Gangas. Nandivarman must be Pallavamalla-Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman. He cannot have had anything to do with Śivamāra II at so late a time as the date of his succession on the death of Muttarasa. And it seems that, mixed up with a real act of Gōvinda III towards the second Śivamāra, the Maṇṇe grant has preserved an anachronistic reminiscence of a real act of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman towards the first Śivamāra; viz., that, on the downfall of the Western Cāḷukyas, he formally recognised Śivamāra I, and crowned him as the chief, more or less feudatory, of a powerful tribe on the borders of his own outlying province of Noḷamba-vāḍi." And to leave nothing uncertain, Fleet discusses in a note the claims of Nandivarman III in this matter and writes:[33] "It might, perhaps, be said that he is the later Nandivarman, also called Vijaya-Nandi-Vikramavarman, son of Dantivarman. But this does not seem at all probable.

[31] *E. I.* XX p. 49 and n. 13.
[32] *E. I.* V. p. 158.
[33] *Ibid.* n. 3.

And, if it were so, an anachronism in the other direction would be involved; for, Nandivarman, the son of Dantivarman, cannot be placed as early as A.D. 797, which is the pretended date of the Maṇṇe grant; he cannot be placed before A.D. 804, which is the date that we have for Dantivarman." Mr. Aiyar himself places the accession of Nandivarman III only in A.D. 812, and feels no call to explain how he gets over the difficulty so clearly pointed out by Fleet. His argument looks plausible simply because he has refrained from quoting, much less examining the authenticity of the Maṇṇe grant, the source of his statement about Nandi III being present with Gōvinda III at Śivamāra's coronation. And he was not unaware of the position taken up on this question by one of the foremost among the epigraphists and historians who have worked in the field Indian History.

We do not know if Mr. Aiyar has noticed, he does not state it anywhere, that the same fact is mentioned in identical terms also in the Aḷūr plates (A.D. 799), declared like the Maṇṇe grant to be 'suspicious',[34] and also in the undated Gaḷigakere plates of Raṇavikrama.[35] Except in the case of the Gaḷigakere plates which are clearly later in time than the beginning of Nandivarman III's reign, it does not seem easy to get over the anachronisms to which Fleet has drawn such pointed attention.

One other possibility suggests itself.[36] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king that crowned Śivamāra II may have been, not Gōvinda III, but Gōvinda II. The relations between Gōvinda III and Śivamāra were none too friendly as may be seen from the following verse which occurs in Gōvinda III's records; and it is doubtful if Śivamāra II ever ruled independently and contemporaneously with Gōvinda III and that sufficiently long for him to have been so formally installed by two crowned kings as narrated in the Maṇṇe and other grants mentioned above. The verse from Gōvinda's plates is this:[37]

Yen-ātyanta-dayālunā tha nigaḍa-kleśād-apāsy-āyatāt
Svan-deśam gamito'-pi darpa-visarād-yaḥ prātikūlye-sthitaḥ
Yāvan-na bhrukuṭí-lalāṭa-phalake yasy-ōnnate lakṣyate
Viksepena vijitya tāvad-acirād-baddhahs-sa Gāmgah punah

[34] *Mysore Gazetteer*, new edition, II pp. 606-7; 646.
[35] *Ep. Car.* iv Yd. 60.
[36] The argument that follows is partly based on references furnished by Mr. M. Sōmaśkhara Śarma with whom I had occasion to discuss this subject.
[37] *I. A.* XI p. 158 text II. 21-3.

During the period of Śivamāra's imprisonment, "the Rāṣṭrakūtas appointed their own viceroys to govern the Ganga territories. In 802 Dhārāvarṣa's son Kambha or Raṇāvaloka was the viceroy and there are three inscriptions of his time. In 813 we find Chāki Raja in that office".[38] It seems almost certain, therefore, that between A.D. 802 and 813 there is no room for a coronation such as that mentioned in the Maṇṇe grant of Mārasimha. This fact, and the date of that grant A.D. 797, would suggest, —that is, if we put aside for the time being the doubts about the genuineness of the record—that the date of the coronation must have been much earlier than the date given by Mr. Aiyar viz., A.D. 812. The suggestion may be made that Gōvinda II and Nandivarman II Pallavamalla took part in the coronation. But if this were so, the coronation must have taken place earlier than A.D. 775 when Dhruva the successor of Gōvinda II was ruling;[39] and the Pallava king who took part in it could have been only Nandivarman II. But there is one difficulty in the way of accepting this account of the matter. The predecessor of Śivamāra II, Śrí Puruṣa Muttarasa was ruling till as late as A.D. 788,[40] and this at least raises a doubt if Śivamāra could have been crowned so early in the reign of his predecessor as this arrangement would require us to assume. We should not also lose sight of the facts that the Maṇṇe grant is perhaps not genuine at all, and that Fleet has suggested another and a plausible explanation of the anachronistic mention of the Pallava Nandivarman in that grant.

It thus happens that not one of the four main propositions into which Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar's arguments may be resolved survives the slightest touch of criticism. All of them are based on an imperfect appreciation of the nature of the evidence available on the questions dealt with. That being so, we can hardly accept that the limits of the first year of Varguṇa's reign must lie between the years A.D. 807 and 823. The astronomical data in the inscriptions do not always lead to such definite results as the uninitiated may sometimes imagine; Mr. Aiyar has found no fewer than seven dates in a period of less than half a century to satisfy the requirements of the case. There are no doubt others of an earlier time which would satisfy the conditions equally. In any event, the examination of the arguments on which the date A.D.

[38] Rice—*Mysore Gazetteer* 1. p. 314.
[39] *E. I.* X p. 85.
[40] *Mysore Archœological Report* 1918—p. 42.

811 for the accession of Varaguṇa is based has shown, beyond a shadow of doubt, that this conclusion rests on a series of thoroughly implausible conjectures, and is therefore hardly worthy of the serious consideration that it would otherwise merit.

VI

This long and somewhat intricate examination of the positions taken by different writers on early Pāṇḍyan chronology has, I believe, established some results more firmly than ever. Put forward by Mr. Venkayya as a tentative scheme, the genealogy of twelve generations comprising thirteen kings needs reconsideration in the light of new facts. Most important among the new facts are the position now assigned to the Madras Museum plates[41] and the high regnal years in the stone inscriptions of Māṛanjaḍaiyan and Śaḍaiyanmāṛan. The attempt to link Pāṇḍyan chronology with Pallava history, and to uphold a date in A.D. 811 for the accession of Varaguna I Pandya breaks down at every point. A revised genealogy comprising only ten generations meets all the requirements and seems best to harmonise all the known data from epigraphy and literature bearing on the period. What we know of the lives of the Śaiva saints, and of the duration of reigns of Pāṇḍyan kings from the stone inscriptions of the age is easily fitted into the scheme I put forward sometime ago and reproduce below:

(1) Kaḍungōn.
A.D. *c* 590-620.

(2) Māṛavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi.
A.D. *c* 620-645.

(3) Śēndan.
A.D. *c* 645-670.

[41] I have ignored the smaller Śinnamanūr plates as of minor importance to our purpose here. They have been discussed fully in my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*.

(4) Arikēsari Māṛavarman.
A.D. *c* 670-710.

(5) Kōccaḍaiyan.
A.D. *c* 710-740.

(6) Māṛavarman Rājasimha I.
A.D. *c* 740-765.

(7) Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan.
A.D. *c* 765-815.

(8) Śrí Māra Śrí Vallabha.
A.D. *c* 815-62.

(9) Varaguṇa Varman.
A.D. c 862-880.

(10) Parāntaka Víranārāyana.
A.D. *c* 880-900.

(11) Māṛavarman Rājasimha II
A.D. *c* 900-920.

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History of the reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

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BOOK II: *(continued)*

CHAPTER III

THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

INTRODUCTORY:

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

THE Imperial Household was a great miscellany of offices, factories, departments and institutions. It was a microcosm, a complete, independent unit, where the economic processes of production, consumption, and exchange went full circle. The standard of the articles and services consumed at court was so high and the amounts required were so large that no private agency or set of agencies could be relied upon to meet the demand with a reasonable degree of satisfaction.

Some of these, indeed, were of a kind usually managed by state, such as a mint or an arms factory. But it is proof of the fastidious tastes of the aristocracy in general and the Emperor in particular that every thing consumed by court was specially produced by its various offices.

These offices constituted the mainspring of life at court—like all mainsprings invisible to outside observers, but vitally necessary. To realize the significance of court life and ceremonial one should understand the inner working of the machinery that was behind it. This machinery was to the Imperial Court what anatomy is to the art of animal sculpture—foundation of its being.

We have a wish not only to see what passed on the stage, but also to watch the processes of preparation in the green-room and to study the appliances which controlled the shifting of scenes and the rest.

'The *kārkhānajāt*', says Abū'l-Fazl, 'were more than a hundred in number, and each was like a city, in fact like a kingdom.' (Ā'īn, Text, 9).

The Treasury stored valuables of all kinds: coins, gold and silver, precious stones, and useful and ornamental things made of these; as well as articles of virtu prized for rarity or workmanship.

Several departments were concerned with the royal table, such as Kitchen, *Nānbā-khāna* (Bakery), *Ḥawā'ij-khāna* (for pot-herbs, seasonings, sweets, etc.), *Mewa-khāna* (Fruitery), *Ābdār-khāna* (for water), *Rikāb-khāna* (Pantry), and *Āftābchī-khānā* (for ewers, etc.).

Not far removed in function were *Sharbat-khāna* (for sherbet and other beverages), and *Tambūl-khāna* (for betel-leaves).

Lighting-up was in charge of *Chirāgh-khāna* (lamps) and *Mash'al-khāna* (torches); while *Khwushbū-khāna* (Perfumery) supplied scents, *itrs*, essences and oils.

A large number of well-organized factories, where articles were manufactured and stored in proper order, also formed part of the Household. These were *Kārkhānas, i.e.,* factories, properly so called:

The Mint stamped its seal on the current coin of the realm; and the *Qūr-khāna* produced arms and equipments of war. Another department engraved royal seals.

The following *kārkhānas* were concerned with the weaving of textile fabrics and the needlework connected with them:— *Farrāsh-khāna* (for tents and carpets), *Kīrakyarāg-Khāna* (or *Kīrākyarāq-khāna*) *and Tūshak-khāna* (for dresses and stuffs of all kinds used for wearing-apparel, etc.), and the Shawl department.

In other workshops skilful artists and artisans worked in metal, stone, ivory and other substances; and the upper reaches of art were approached in the work of goldsmiths and painters. Each department was conducted and supervised by master workers of established reputation. [1]

[1] As an example, by no means isolated, may be cited Bebadal Khān, the *Dārogha* of Goldsmiths' workshop in Shāh Jahān's time, who was a celebrated lapidary, a great calligraphist, and also an author of some respectable verse. (*A.S.*, II, 89-90).

Akbar, says Father Monserrate, who was at the Mughal Court in 1580-82, 'is so devoted to building that he sometimes quarries stone himself, along with the other workmen. Nor does he shrink from watching and even himself practising, for the sake of amusement, the craft of an ordinary artisan. For this purpose he has built a workshop near the palace, where also are studios and workrooms for the finer and more reputable arts, such as painting, goldsmith-work, tapestry-making, carpet and curtain-making, and the manufacture of arms. Hither he very frequently comes and relaxes his mind with watching at their work those who practise these arts.' (Monserrate, *Commentary,* 201.)

Bernier, who came some eighty years later, is talking of the same factories in the following passage:—'Large halls are seen in many places, called *Kar-kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoe makers; in a sixth, manufactures of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needlework.—The artisans repair every morning to their respective *Karkanays,* where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes.' (Bernier, 258-59).

Every one knows the heights of excellence essayed by the building art in this period.

Music, both as an art and as a profession, was in high esteem, and a heavy establishment consisting of musicians and singers (both male and female) and of dancing girls (of all nationalities) was maintained at considerable expense.

Where art excelled knowledge did not lag behind. And it is one of the paradoxes of history that one of the finest manuscript libraries in the world was built up, in great part, during the reign of an illiterate monarch. The Imperial Library of the Mughals is a remarkably interesting phenomenon in many ways.

A large number of animals were kept and fed in the fort-palace: Some, like elephants, horses, camels, mules and cattle, were for use, and were lodged in stables. Others, such as leopards, deer, dogs, hawks and falcons, were for hunting. Others, again, were for amusement, almost all Mughal emperors being amateur naturalists. All sorts of animals and birds that influence and patronage could bring found their way into the royal menagerie.

Then there was an office of the *Naubat-khāna* or *Naqqār-khāna* (Music Gallery) which tuned up at stated times and during the imperial audiences; and informed the capital and the camp of the time of day and night, and of the functions at the court.

There seems to have been a department in charge of the insignia of royalty. Rigid rules were observed regarding the use of these; for symbolism played a great part in Mughal administration and etiquette.

A very important department stands by itself: the Haram.

In the conspectus which has preceded, and the detailed treatment which will form the subject-matter of this and the following chapters, we have practically confined ourselves to the reigns of the greater Mughals. We are unable, therefore, to make any use of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Classified List of *Kārkhānajāt* in his *Mughal Administration* (Second Series), (Patna University, 1925). Lecture V, where, besides the *Āín* and *Zawābiṭ-i-'Alamgírí*, he draws upon 'Afíf's *Tārikh-i-Fírozshāhí* on the one hand, and on the Mahratta histories on the other. We are attempting a pen-picture of the Household as it was roughly from 1650 to 1700. The authorities relating to the periods anterior and posterior to this epoch are beside our purpose.

The account that follows is not meant to be exhaustive. All we can manage is a description, as material serves, of the chief offices and departments. The importance of each will naturally determine the space to be allotted to it; so that some will have a somewhat generous treatment at the expense of others, which may be crowded out.

Perhaps the reader is asking himself what would be the approximate cost of running such a gigantic establishment as the Imperial Household. Risking a guess is worse than useless. Luckily some material is available for arriving at a tolerably accurate estimate.

We may begin with Abū'l-Fazl. Writing in or before the year 1,597, he says: 'Although the majority of the officers of the Imperial Household get their salary from the army exchequer the expenditure for the year 39 *Ilāhí* [March 11, 1594—March 10, 1595] came to 30,91,86,795 *dāms*. The expenses of this Empire as well as the revenues are daily increasing.' (*Ā'ín*, Text, I, 9). At 40 *dāms* to the rupee this would be equivalent to Rs. 77,29,670.

These are no doubt the office figures for Akbar's period, and we have no hesitation in accepting them. But we see that this is not at all a high figure. Both the Household and its expenses,

we must remember, expanded considerably during the last ten years of Akbar's reign and under his descendants.

Hawkins' report, which refers to the years 1609-11, is as follows:

'His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house, amounts to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Rupias.' (Purchas, III, 34.)

We understand it to mean that according to Hawkins the daily expenses of the Imperial Household, exclusive of the Haram, amounted to Rs. 50,000, and those of the Haram to Rs. 30,000 *per diem*—total, Rs. 80,000, a day. The annual expenditure would then be Rs. 1,09,50,000 for the Haram, and Rs. 1,82,50,000 for the rest of the Household—total, Rs. 2,92,00,000, or nearly three crores.

The annual budget of the Household must have gone up with rapid strides between 1595 and 1610. And these figures are neither incredible nor unlikely, seeing that Akbar's careful husbandry contrasted with Jahāñgír's negligent ways, and that fifteen years of peaceful development intervened between these dates.

The historiographers of Shāh Jahān's reign give us no details on this point; and we have to fall back upon foreign travellers. Bernier had no access to the official records, and has no definite estimates to offer. Still from a man of his judgment and balance even general statements like the following are worth quoting. He is writing early in Aurangzeb's reign, and is discussing the Emperor's wealth:

'But I have not enumerated all the expenses incurred by the *Great Mogol*. He keeps in *Dehly* and *Agra* from two to three thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency: eight or nine hundred elephants, and a large number of baggage horses, mules, and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their fittings, his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, *Ganges'-water*, and all the other articles necessary for the camp, which the *Mogol* has always about him, as in his capital, things which are not considered necessary in our kingdoms in Europe.

Add to this, if you will, the enormous expenses of the *Seraglio*, where the consumption of fine cloths of gold, and brocades, silks, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences, is greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the *Great Mogol* be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine. I admit that his income exceeds probably the joint revenues of the *Grand Seignior* and of the King of *Persia*; but if I were to call him a wealthy monarch, it would be in the sense that a treasurer is to be considered wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he receives with the other.' (P. 221-22).

It may be remarked in passing that the Princes and the greater nobles had a similar set of *Kārkhānajāt* attached to their household, of course on a descending scale of magnitude, according to the position and wealth of its owner.

TREASURIES.

The Imperial Treasury contained, as we have said, cash and precious metals, and jewels and jewelled articles. We shall take up the Cash and the Jewel Treasury separately, winding up with the miscellaneous articles of artistic and general interest—not jewels, nor forming part of Jewel treasury, yet more valuable than many gems.

Section i: Cash Treasury.

A monarch's resources in war and peace depend on wealth. Consequently the treasury which contains that wealth is a measure of his power. No wonder then that Treasury occupied the first place in the Imperial Household.

In history and tradition the Greater Mughals (from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century) have been famous for their wealth. The fame of the Golden Land of Ind had reached Milton as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. Sir Thomas Roe, a hostile and unsympathetic witness, writing to Prince Charles from Jahāñgír's court at Ajmer on the 30th. of October, 1616, speaks thus of the prosperity and wealth of Mughal India: 'Plentifull in corne and cattle for mans necessitye: aboundant in wealth and commodityes of trade for superfluitye. His revenew far above any easteren monarch knowne: farr above the Turke: incredible if I sawe not the issues and incomes and could not give a better reason of yt then report. In jewells (which is one of his felicityes) hee is the treasury of the world, buyeing all that comes, and heaping rich stones as if hee would rather build then weare them. [1]' (Roe, 270).

[1] An unconscious prophecy, since Shāh Jahān did build (the Peacock Throne) with some of these jewels

We have already heard Bernier's qualified praise.

Is it possible to arrive at a tolerably accurate valuation of the contents of the treasury during the various reigns?

We propose to attempt in this section a rapid survey of the Cash Treasury from Bābur to Shāh Jahān.

It is often, if somewhat vaguely, supposed that one of the causes of the immensity of the Great Mughal's wealth was the fact that unlimited treasures cumulated by the successive lines of Delhi Kings (Khaljís, Tughlaqs, and Lodís) fell to Bābur at Panipat, and that they went on steadily increasing in the hands of his descendants till Nādir Shāh fell on them in 1739 and carried them off at one fell swoop to his native land of Persia. Well, such sweeping statements are generally misleading. The reader is warned that whatever truth there may be in such a generalization, in the first place it can apply only to the Jewel treasury, since the Cash treasury, which Bābur inherited as the spoils of war, was completely squandered by him, as we shall see, in a short time; and while Humāyūn was mostly a fugitive, Jahāñgír's crapulous hands, it appears, were not strong enough to guard, or to spend properly, Akbar's hard-earned wealth, so that Shāh Jahān inherited, comparatively speaking, a depleted treasury. Secondly, even if we consider only the jewel treasury, the period from 1526 to 1739 was not one of steady growth and progress. Humāyūn's defeat and flight to Persia was a great set-back, and we have no means of telling how much of Ibrāhím Lodí's jewel treasury was actually inherited by Akbar.

We can now proceed to the details:

Boundless wealth seems to have fallen into the hands of Bābur at Panipat, though no appraisement of its value is possible from the data available. It is equally certain that heavy sums were bestowed on the princes and nobles and the rank and file of the victorious army, not omitting even the camp followers; and immense amounts were sent to princes, relations, officers and soldiers, in the Transoxiana and elsewhere, and to pious people and holy places. The story is best told by the imperial donor himself:

'On Saturday the 29th [X 30th.] of Rajab [= May 12th. 1526 A. C.?] the examination and distribution of the treasure were begun. To Humāyūn were given 70 laks from the Treasury, and, over and above this, a treasure house was bestowed on him just as it was, without ascertaining and writing down its contents. To some begs 10 laks were given, 8, 7, or 6 to others. Suitable money-gifts were bestowed from the Treasury on the whole army, to

every tribe there was, Afghān, Hazāra, 'Arab, Bílūch *etc.* to each according to its position. Every trader and student, indeed every man who had come with the army, took ample portion and share of bounteous gift and largess. To those not with the army went a mass of treasure in gift and largess, as for instance, 17 laks to Kāmrān, 15 laks to Muhammad-i-zamān Mírā, while to 'Askarí, Hindāl and indeed to the whole various train of relations and younger children went masses of red and white (gold and silver), of plenishing, jewels and slaves. Many gifts went to the begs and soldiery on that side (Tramontana). Valuable gifts (*saughāt*) were sent for the various relations in Samarkand, Khurāsān, Kāshghar and 'Irāq. To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurāsān went offerings vowed to God (*nuzūr*); so too to Makka and Madína. We gave one *shāhrukhi* for every soul in the country of Kābul and the valley-side of Varsak, man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age.[1] (*B. N. E.*, 522-23.)

This passage incidentally illustrates the traditional wealth of India on the one hand and the munificence of the Mughal conquerors on the other—features, the combination of which was to lead to so much that is great in the art and annals of Mughal India.

The next item of news about the treasury in the Emperor's Diary is the following entry under April-May, 1527:

'Meantime news came that Humāyūn had gone into Dihlí, there opened several treasure-houses and, without permission, taken possession of their contents. I had never looked for such a thing from him; it grieved me very much; I wrote and sent off to him very severe reproaches.' (*B. N. E.*, 583.).

Finally, by the 22nd. October, 1528, exactly 2½ years after Bābur's great victory, we learn that 'the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhím in Dihlí and Āgra was at an end. Royal orders were given therefore, on Thursday the 8th of Safar, that each stipendiary (*wajhdār*) should drop in to the Díwān, 30 in every 100 of his allowance, to be used for war-material and appliances, for equipment, for powder, and for the pay of gunners and matchlockmen.' (*B. N. E.*, 617)

So the Qalandar, after his reckless extravagance, finds himself straitened for military necessaries—life-blood for a conqueror whose power and safety in a foreign land rested solely on the strength of his arms.

[1] '*Circa* 10d. or 11d. Bābur left himself stripped so bare by his far-flung largess that he was nick-named Qalandar (Firishta).'

(P. 523, f. n. 2.)

Humāyūn's reign is uneventful for our present purpose. Nobody can tell how much of Humāyūn's failure was due to the pecuniary resourcelessness in which Bābur's 'generosity' must have left him. Whatever money he possessed must have been exhausted in his military operations; for he was not in a position to carry with him in his flight to Persia anything more than the crown jewels, as we shall know later. [1]

This brings us to the reign of the great Akbar. Thanks to his minister, Abū'l-Fazl, we possess interesting details about the administration of the treasury. It is probable that the lines here laid down were followed in the succeeding reigns.

A general treasurer with a *dārogha* and a clerk constituted the central establishment.

When a provincial treasurer had collected the sum of two lacs of *dāms* he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum. A separate treasurer was appointed for the *peshkash* receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for *nazr* receipts, and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person, [2] and for charitable donations. These treasurers were assisted by superintendents, *dāroghas* and clerks.

The amount of the revenues was so great and the business so multifarious that twelve treasurers [3] were appointed to guard the treasures, nine for different kinds of coined money, and three for gems, gold and jewelled things.

[1] Next Section.

[2] It should be explained that the valuables and food-stuffs against which the Emperor was weighed every solar and lunar year, were not given away at once but were stored in treasury and disbursed slowly for charitable purposes throughout the year. These included also works of public utility; for Jahāñgīr tells us that he once ordered five thousand rupees to be spent out of the *wazn* money on construction of a bridge at Baba Hasan Abdal and another building there. (*Tūzuk*, 76; R. & B., I, 160.)

[3] Blochmann has 'treasuries' for 'treasurers', and this mistake has been copied by Sir J. N. Sarkar in *Mughal Administration*, Second Series, Chapter v.

A separate treasurer was also appointed for each of the Imperial Workshops, the number of which was nearly one hundred.

'Again, by the order of His Majesty', continues Abū'l-Fazl, 'a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover, a crore of *dāms* is kept in readiness in the courtyard of *Daulat-khāna*, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called *sahsa*, and many of them put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, His Majesty entrusts to some of the nobility a large sum of money, that it may be ready at all times; and a part is put in a *bahla*, *i.e.* a purse, for immediate use—hence commonly known as *kharj-i-bahla*'.[1]

Bābur is certainly the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, but then Akbar is equally truly the founder of the Mughal empire in India; for the effects of Bābur's victories had worn off during the unsuccessful reign of Humāyūn, and Akbar had to rough-hew from the beginning.

Akbar inherited practically nothing, and during a strenuous but successful reign of half a century he built up a body of resource which would do credit to a monarch under any circumstances.

The following estimate of his treasure is taken from V. A. Smith's article, 'The Treasure of Akbar' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 231-43, which is based in turn on the accounts in De Laët's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, and Manrique's *Itinerario*, Ch. LXXVI (that in Mandelslo's *Voyages and Travels* being discredited as spurious). De Laët obtained his information prior to 1631, and Manrique got his about 1640. We have thought it safer to rely on Smith's collated account than on the English Translation of De Laët by Mr. Hoyland, edited by Mr. Banerjee.

[1] These paragraphs are from *Āín* (Text, I 10-11; Blochmann, 14-15). Blochmann's translation has several serious errors, as a comparison will show. I have freely adopted it where it is correct, and have equally freely amended it where I found it was not.

Cash Treasure left by Akbar.

Coins	Value in Rupees.
Gold coins weighing 100 *tolas* (or 1150 *māshas*), 50 *tolas*, and 25 *tolas* each: Total weight, 6,970,000 *māshas*. Value calculated at Rs. 14 a *māsha*[1]:	97,580,000¾
Silver coins of *Akbarí* Rupees.	100,000,000
Bronze *Paisa* or Pice, numbering 230,000,000[2] (Rate, 30 *takas per* rupee).	766,666
Total	198,346,666¾ (or nearly 20 crores).

It must be added that the above is the total value of the cash hoard kept at Agra alone at the time of Akbar's decease. From statements by Hawkins (Purchas, III, 31 and 34) it appears that treasure was also kept (in Jahāñgír's time) in the six fortresses of Gwalior, Narwar, Ranthambhor, Asír (Asírgarh), Rohtas (Rohtasgarh), and, specially, Lahore. We may presume that in Akbar's time too it was so. At a rough calculation there may be at most

[1] *Māsha* in the last two places is obviously a mistake for *tola*, since Rs. 14 a *tola* is an infinitely more likely quotation for gold than Rs. 168 a *tola*. It is strange that the error is common to all the three original authors (including "Mandelslo"), and more strange that neither V. A. Smith nor the editor of De Laët's *Empire of the Great Mogol* has noted the absurdity. We are glad to find that Mr. Hodivala has noted this point (among others) in his able and scholarly review of the *Empire of the Great Mogol* (trans. by Mr. Hoyland, edit. by Mr. Banerjee), which appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*, VII, ii, 236-46.

We may, however, pass over it, as it is no more than a careless clerical error.

[2] V. A. Smith notes that this should be 23 millions.

Mr. Hodivala challenges the equation of a rupee = 30 *takas*, and holds that De Laët here by *taka* means only a *dām*, of which 40 went to a rupee. The high price of a *dām* given here is, he says, due to the fact, that copper had risen in price about 1630, *i.e.*, about the time *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was compiled.

The exchange value of the *taka*, does not, however, affect the total of the treasure appreciably.

another ten crores of rupees in these provincial fortresses. V. A. Smith's estimated total of twenty crores for the *mofussil* treasure (*Akbar*, 347) seems to be excessive. In fact the ten crores we have conceded is an outside valuation. Thus we arrive at a total of nearly thirty crores.

De Laët's list calls for some criticism. But for the purpose of that criticism it will be convenient to take up first another list given by an earlier writer, which refers, however, to a lower date.

We give below the 'cash' part of the inventory of the Imperial Treasury, apparently obtained from some official source, by Captain Hawkins, who visited Agra in 1609-11, and who possesses the credentials—unique for a European—of having been appointed a *manṣabdār* in the Emperor's army. Although this document falls properly into Jahāñgír's reign, in time De Laët's and Hawkins' lists stand only a quinquennium apart.

'His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his severall Coine of Gold.

Inprimis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckes. Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold of twenty Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne Toles a piece, there bee five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Toles, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.'

A Tole is a Rupia Chalany of Silver, and ten of these Toles are the value of one of gold.

'Of Silver, as followeth.

Inprimis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Crou (every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck an hundred thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Toles a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie Toles a piece, there is one Lecke. Of thirtie Toles a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Toles a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Toles a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Savoy, which is a Tole ¼ of these there are two Leckes. Of Jagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should have beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.'

(Purchas, III, 31—32.)

This matter can be put in figures thus:—

Jahangir's Cash Treasure in 1610-11.

Gold Coins.

No.	Name of Coin.	Weight in Tolas.	Value in Rs.	Number.	Total Value in lacs of Rs.
1	*Akbarí Ashrafí*		10	60,00,000	600
2		(100)	100	20,000	200
3		(50)	500	10,000	50
4		20	(200)	30,000	60
5		10	(100)	25,000	25
6	*Jahāñgírí*	5	(50)	50,000	25
	Total ...				960

NOTE.—We have calculated the value of coins No. 4, 5 and 6 on the basis of ten rupees to a *tola*, which seems justified not only by the quaintly worded marginal note by Hawkins quoted above, but generally by the values of gold coins of Akbar's time given in *Ā'ín* (Text, I, 25; Blochmann, 29-30). Calculated weights and values are given within brackets to distinguish from those given by Hawkins himself. They are approximate, not exact. All total values are calculated by us.

Silver Coins.

No.	Name of Coin	Weight in Tolas.	Number.	Total Value in lacs of Rs.
1	*Akbarí* Rupee		13,00,00,000	1,300
2	*Salím Shāhí* Rupee	100	50,000	50
3		50	100,000	50
4		30	40,000	12
5		20	30,000	6
6		10	20,000	2
7		5	25,000	1¼
8	'Savoy'[1],	1¼	200,000	2½
9	*Jahāñgírí*	1-1/5	100,000	1-1/5
	Total ...	Say, 1425 lacs or 14-1/4 crores		1424 - 19/20

NOTE.—In all cases except No. 1 the total values have been calculated on the rough basis of a *tola* weight being equal to a rupee. This is only a working assumption, since we know that both the *Akbarí* rupees and the square *jalāla* weighed only 11½ *māshas*.

[1] This is *sawā'í* (one and a quarter)

Gold Coins	9,60,00,000
Silver Coins	14,25,00,000
Total	Rs. 23,85,00,000

It will be noted that no copper coins are given in this list, being presumably considered unimportant. Even if they were added the total would still be under 24 crores.

This was probably the value of the Agra treasure. Comparing this with the Agra treasure in 1605, we find that the amount of cash had increased by 4 crores during these five or six years.

With these two inventories of the Imperial Treasury before the reader, we can profitably devote a little space to their analysis and comparison.

Let us begin with the Gold Coins: Our first impression on comparing the two lists is that Hawkins' inventory dwarfs De Laët's into insignificance in every respect; in fact the latter seems to be no more than a hasty, fugitive sort of summary of the former, carelessly worded, and not without slips, and errors of a more reprehensible kind. The most serious omission seems to be the total absence of *ashrafís*, which in the other list number 60 lacs, are valued at 6 crores, and constitute the major portion of the gold treasure. Apart from Hawkins' list, a treasury without *ashrafís* would be inconceivable.

Judging from the fact that De Laët's and Hawkins' totals of the gold treasure tally very nearly, we can charitably assume that De Laët's total (and he gives only the total) represents the value of gold coins of all weights from 100 to 1 *tola*, although he mentions by name only the heaviest three.

Descending to details: We find that De Laët equates 100 *tolas* with 1150 *māshas*. This is of course not exact, since a *tola* = 12 *māshas*; but we don't consider it a serious error, as Mr. Hodivala does (*J. of I. H.*, VII, ii, 240)

We know from *Ā'ín* (Text, I 23-24) that the big pieces weighed respectively 101 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, 7 *surkhs* (value = 100 *la'l-i-jalālí*) and 91 *tolas*, 8 *māshas* (value = 100 round mohurs of 11 *māshas* each); and the smaller ones were halves of these two, and a quarter of the one first mentioned.

It appears that De Laët (or whoever copied out the list) struck a rough-and-ready sort of average between the true weights of the big pieces, and having stated the weight to be 100 *tolas*, tried to be more correct by stating it as the equivalent of 1150 *māshas;* the true weights of the two pieces being nearly 1222 and 1100 *māshas* respectively.

The next point is the rate quoted for gold, *viz.*, Rs. 14 a *tola*. We agree with Mr. Hodivala that this is excessive. Judging from most authorities available the price of gold seems to have been about Rs. 10 a *tola* in Akbar's time and the early part of Jahāñgír's reign. We know, however, that soon after Shāh Jahān's accession gold was selling at Rs. 14 a *tola*. (*B. N.*, I, ii, 79).

The explanation of De Laët's error lies in the fact that the compilers, instead of stating the rate which obtained in 1605 (to which date the document refers), probably quoted the rate current at the time of the compilation of the book, *viz.*, about 1630.

If we correct Rs. 14 to Rs. 10, the obvious result will be that either we assume the weight to be correct and make the necessary alteration in the total value, or we accept the total value and work out the total weight from it. Either the weight or the value is taken from the State document—we don't know which; and the other is reckoned from it by the compilers.

Seeing that the total gold treasure in De Laët's list nearly equals the total gold treasure in Hawkins' list—assuming that no serious change took place in the short interval of five years (which is unlikely)—one would be inclined to think that the *value* given is the correct figure, and that the weight should be increased.

Now we come to the Silver Coins: De Laët's item is so brief that no detailed criticism is possible. Hawkins' total, even after deducting the *Salím-shahí* rupees of 100 *tolas* each and the *Jahāñgíris* 1-1|5 *tolas* each (which were coined subsequent to Akbar's death), is still far in excess of De Laët's. In fact the *Akbarí* rupees alone exceed De Laët's total amount by a great deal. Possibly there was an actual increase in the store during the period 1605-1610.

Jahāñgír, in his Autobiography, speaks in some detail of gold and silver coins, the striking of which he ordered in the first year of his reign (*Tūzuk*, 5; R. and B., 10-12). But the Emperor does not mention the quantities minted, nor does Hawkins specify in his list all the coins which bore the stamp of Jahāñgír. We are, therefore, unable to make any use of the entry in, the Emperor's Diary; and a possible way of reconciling Hawkins' list with De Laët's is lost to us.

Speaking generally, one may say that Hawkins' list has all the appearance of being a careful copy of an authentic document. As regards De Laët, we agree with most of the strictures passed on him and on the editor of the English Translation of his work by Mr. Hodivala. Apart from the points noticed above, a great fault of De Laët's seems to be a lack of co-ordination in his work. De Laët's list is immediately followed by a reproduction of Haw-

kins' list (which, by the way, is not free from errors); and the least that we should have expected from De Laët is a comparison and discussion, with consequent correction and explanation. And it is still more unfortunate that even the editor has not cared to collate the results or suggest corrections.

Our final opinion is that De Laët's list is a badly copied and ill-digested memorandum of what appears to be an authentic record, the exact copy of which perhaps never actually reached De Laët. But, ill supplied with reliable information as we are, we cannot afford to ignore completely even such a defective document. Even a bad record is better than no record, for it always has a corroborative value.

Further, we have also the details of the treasure left by Akbar in two Persian histories.

Both the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* and *M. U.* give what purports to be details of Akbar's treasure.

I confess I can make no sense of the figures and values given by Muḥammed Qāsim in *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Bombay Edition, I, 517; Brigg's Translation, 1829, II, 281-2); and unless one can offer at least a working explanation, there is no point in quoting the passage.

Next comes Khāfí Khān, the author of *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*. We have no admiration for him as a historian, nor any respect for his sense of accuracy or responsibility. Still we give below his account of Akbar's treasure for what it is worth. His wording is so obscure that we prefer to give his text in Persian, permitting the reader freedom of opinion in the matter of its interpretation :

بعد وفات او که عرض خزانه گرفتند ده کرور روپیه را اشرفی یازده ماشه وسیزده ماشه وچهارده ماشه سوائے اشرفیهائے کلاں که از صد تولہ تا پانصد تولہ هزار اشرفی در خزانه موجود بود و دوصد وهفتاد و دومن طلائے غیر مسکوک وسه صدو هفتاد من نقره و یک من جواهر خاصه که قیمت آں از سه کرور روپیه تجاوز نموده بود برآمد۔

(*M. L.* I, 243).

Literal translation :

'After his [Akbar's] death when stock of the treasury was taken, ten crores of rupees' worth of *ashrafís* of 11, 13 and 14 *māshas* besides the large *ashrafís* weighing 100 to 500 *tolas*, 1000 of which were present in the treasurey, and 272 *man* uncoined gold and 370 *man* silver, and one *man khaṣṣa* jewels, valued at over 3 crores of rupees, were found.'

It is not clear whether 10 crores is the value of all *ashrafís* or only of those weighing 11, 13 and 14 *máshas* respectively. Assuming that it applies to all (which is by no means clear), we get the total value roughly equivalent to the total value in the tables previously discussed.

By the *ashrafís* of 11, 13, and 14 *máshas* Khāfí Khān means probably the following in the same order:

(1) The *'Adl-gutka*, the *Muhr-i-gird* (round mohur), and the *Miḥrabí*. Weight, 11 *máshas;* value, nine rupees.

(2) The *Iláhí* and the square *La'l-i-jaláli*. Weight, 12 *máshas*, 1¾ *surkhs;* value, ten rupees.

(3) The *Aftábí* and the *Chahárgosha*. Weight of both, 1 *tola*, 2 *máshas*, 4¾ *surkhs*. Value of the former, twelve rupees; of the latter, not given.

(*Á'ín*, Text, I, 25)

The weight of No. 2 can hardly be described as 13 *máshas*, as *Khāfí Khān* does.

Next there is the difficulty of 1000 *ashrafís* weighing from 100 to 500 *tolas*.

In the first place we know of no coins heavier than 100 *tolas*. Thus the 500 is either a myth or a misprint. Secondly, supposing it is a mistake for 5, and that the author means *ashrafís* weighing from 100 to 5 *tolas* each (which fits in with the weights given in Hawkins' list, if we except the 5-*tola* ones, which are *Jahāñgírí* coins), we have the further difficulty of their number being 1000; whereas in Hawkins the total number of these coins comes to 135,000, out of which 50,000 (the number of *Jahāñgírí* coins) being deducted, we have still 85,000 left.

Again, silver and copper coins given in the other lists are not given by Khāfí Khān, while gold and silver bullion in Khāfí Khān is not found in those.

In any case, the combined value of gold and silver bullion could not have exceeded 65 lacs.

Although Hawkins' list refers to a time when Jahāñgír's reign was well under way, we may look upon all the three documents so far discussed as practically a record of what Akbar bequeathed to Jahāñgír.

The increase that we find in Hawkins may or may not signify a real increase in resources. Even if it does, the rate of progress seems not to have been kept up. For, according to Mullā

'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Lāhorí, Jahāñgír spent in his reign of 22 years the greater part of what Akbar had saved up during a reign of 51. (*B. N.*, II, 713).

Akbar's legacy ought to have been Jahāñgír's opportunity; but it does not seem to have been utilized as such. Else the enormous resources inherited by the latter, if properly husbanded and developed in a fairly peaceful reign of a quarter century, would have placed the key to unimaginable power and possibilities in the hands of the Mughal emperor, already the richest monarch in the world. Our information about Jahāñgír's reign in this respect is, it must be admitted, meagre. But all the signs point to a gradual dissipation of Akbar's hard-earned wealth.

V. A. Smith states that the treasure accumulated by Akbar was much increased during the comparatively peaceful reigns of Jahāñgír and Shāh Jahān (J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 240); and this seems to be the general belief to this day. Well, as regards Jahāñgír, we have reason to doubt the validity of such a proposition.

It will add a touch of reality to our picture if we may, before taking leave of Akbar's cash treasury, watch that emperor, for once, inspecting his coins. The following quotations from the Jesuit fathers are interesting: 'Zelaldinus [Jalāl' ud-Din, *i.e.*, Akbar] is sparing and tenacious of his wealth, and thus has become the richest Oriental king for at least 200 years. With the object of exhibiting his wealth four times every year he has sacks of minted copper money publicly piled up (I think in the palace courtyard) into a heap ten feet wide and thirty feet high. By the side of this pile sit the superintendents and tellers of the treasury. They supervise the counting of the money, which is paid out to those who are entitled to receive it, after deduction of the profit which an ordinary banker would have made if it had been deposited with him. Each sack holds about four thousand copper coins.'—(Monserrate, *Commentary*, 208). We must remark that from all that we know about the greater Mughal monarchs we cannot associate such vulgar ostentation with any of them. Monserrate seems to have witnessed a periodical disbursement of cash to officers. That Akbar always or sometimes personally supervised the payments is only another proof of his frugal and careful habits with which all historians credit him.

The members of the Third Jesuit Mission, which came in 1595, relate thus the Emperor's examination of newly coined money: They saw him once 'counting a large sum of gold coins of many different values which he had ordered to mint. Behind him were some hundred and fifty plates full of them, and a good

number of bags, with others that had already been examined or were still to be seen. He examines them by himself or by others and it is his chief distraction every day, when he has retired, that is during the leisure left him after he has shown himself three times to the people; and when the money has been counted and put in bags, he has it placed among his treasures, which are very great.' (Quoted by the editor of Monserrate's *Commentary*, p. 208, f. n., from the *Examiner*, Nov. 22, 1919, pp. 469—70).

We can now proceed to deal with the reign of Shāh Jahān. It is much to be regretted that here too the material is inadequate. The official histories are generally silent or evasive. 'Abdu'l Ḥamíd who winds up at the end of the twentieth regnal year, instead of giving us some useful totals of the contents of the treasury, stops short with facile but useless generalizations; and Muḥammad Wāriṣ, who closes on the thirtieth year, has nothing to say.

Shāh Jahān was, according to Bernier, 'a great economist'. But we must remember that the expenditure had increased considerably in his reign (witness the heavy *manṣabdārí* list besides other evidence), and he had always been lavish with his gifts. Further, that emperor has left more abiding monuments of architecture than any other king in ancient or modern times, in or outside India. According to the lists in *B. N.* (II, 714; III, f. 17b) Shāh Jahān must have spent something like 3 crores on palaces and gardens, mosques and mausoleums, castles and fortifications.

As for the treasure, where the authors of B. N. and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ all fail us, we can only fall back upon less well-informed writers, even if they lead us nowhere.

Khāfí Khān has the following statement about the treasure left by Shāh Jahān. His ambiguous language is placed before the reader as it is:

بیست و چہار کرور روپیہ و از جنس اشرفی سوائے طلا و نقرۂ غیر مسکوک و ظروف طلائی و نقرئی و جواہر کہ تخمیناً تا پانزدہ شانزدہ کرور ان نیز می شد ماندہ بود۔

(*M. L.* I, 758).

Rupees	24 crores.
Ashrafís (except gold and silver bullion) and gold and silver vessels and jewels.	15 to 16 crores.

The above is our interpretation of the text. The benefit of doubt is given to the author.

As we shall see in the next section, the total value of jewels and jewelled articles at the end of the second decade was 5 crores. The last decade couldn't have added appreciably to it.

The gold and silver vessels are an incalculable quantity, since we don't know what they include. Judging by the De Laët-Manrique list of gold and silver articles, which will be placed before the reader in the next section, and assuming that Khāfí Khān means all articles made of precious metals, the total value of these should be placed at about 3 crores—which is the total for Akbar's reign in the De Laët-Manrique list.

Eight crores being thus deducted, we have only 7 to 8 crores left for the *ashrafís*. If these figures are worth anything, the *ashrafí* store has ebbed since Akbar's time, while the rupee treasure has swung forward.

Bernier, however, has quite a different story to tell. '*Chah-Jehan*', he says, 'who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any great wars, never amassed six *kourours* of *roupies*.' (p. 223).—If the amount is as correct as the duration of Shāh Jahān's reign given here, this quotation is worse than useless. Besides, Bernier, we know, had no access to the official registers.

Where unreliable authors succeed only in contradicting each other, we can arrive at no really stable conclusions.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

When the contents of the Cash treasury have been surveyed one feels a natural curiosity about the sources from which all these accumulations were derived.

There is no doubt that in a country like India land revenue was by far the most important item in finance; but it was not by any means the only one.

Father Monserrate has the following interesting discourse on the subject:

'The King', he says, 'exacts enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire, which is wonderfully rich and fertile both for cultivation and pasture, and has a great trade both in exports and imports. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles, which by law and custom all come to the King on their owners' death. In addition, there are the spoils of conquered kings and chieftains, whose treasure is seized, and the great levies exacted, and gifts received, from the inhabitants of newly subdued districts in every part of his dominions. These gifts and levies are apt to be so large as to ruin outright many of

his new subjects. He also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit.

Moreover, he allows no bankers or money-changers in his empire except the superintendents and tellers of the royal treasuries. This enormous banking-business brings the King great profit; for at these royal treasuries alone may gold coin be changed for silver or copper, and vice versa. The government officers are paid in gold, silver or copper according to their rank. Thus it comes about that those who are paid in one type of coin need to change some of it into another type.

Such means of increasing the revenue may be thought base, but they have two distinct advantages; for the coinage cannot possibly be debased or adulterated; and the rate of internal exchange is kept constant, since it cannot be manipulated by fraudulent money-changers. Moreover, as all the money in circulation comes eventually to the royal treasuries, there can be no scarcity of money with consequent high prices'. (*The Commentary of Father Monserrate,* 207).

But the Father's list is not exhaustive; for presents received as a matter of custom from nobles and officers came to a considerable sum in the course of the year. And there must have been many miscellaneous heads of revenue.

Manucci, who has experience only of Aurangzeb's reign enumerates the sources of revenue other than land as follows. The reader should not expect precision or strict accuracy from him.

'In addition to this revenue obtained from grain, *et cetera* [he means land revenue], there are other considerable receipts. One is the tribute paid by the Hindūs, as I have stated in my Second Part (II. 182). This has no fixed total, being sometimes more and sometimes less. This variation is caused by deaths, and by travellers moving from one place to another. If carrying with them a receipt for what they have paid, the latter are allowed to pass free. But if they chance to lose this paper, or it be stolen, they are made to pay again either in the same or in another province. The officials embezzle their collections most terribly, to such an extent that the king gets more often than not less than half.

There is a second customs duty upon goods brought by Hindū merchants; it is five per cent; and though Aurangzeb had remitted it for Mahomedans, he has not failed all the same to take two and a half per cent. [from them]. He makes those whom he had exempted pay the rents and customs duty. He also draws large sums from the bathings which the Hindūs perform at various points in the empire. There is also another source of revenue, the diamond

mines in the kingdom of Gulkandah, over and above the largest and the best of the stones. Any which weigh above three-eighths of an ounce belong to the Crown. The seaports also yield him a large revenue; among them are those of Sindí, Bharoch, Sūrat, and Kambāya. Sūrat alone brings him in usually thirty *lakhs*, besides the eleven lakhs derived from the profit on new coin struck there.

In addition to all these items, he has the revenue from the whole coast of Choromandal, from Masulipatam (Machhlipatanam), from Narsāpur, and of the whole coast from Pundy (Pūndí), or from Ginzerly (Gingerli), as far as Ballasor (Bāleshwar); also from all the ports on the river Ganges. Over and above all these items, he seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, in spite of having declared that he makes no claim on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything. If they leave widows, he gives them a trifle every year and some land to furnish a subsistence. He also causes the goods of merchants to be seized if they die without heirs. Again, added to all that, he receives very considerable presents from the Hindū princes, *zamíndārs*, and their servants.

The rajahs, the generals of the army, and the commanders are made to contribute a certain sum, according to the number of Hindūs in their service. Usually this is taken as a deduction from the pay disbursed to them. The king's sons even are not exempted, and Shāh 'Ālam, my prince, paid in my day eighty thousand rupees a year. These revenues amount to something near the same total as the revenue from grain, of which I gave the figures above'.[1] (*Storia*, II, 415, 417-18).

I fully agree with the editor's remarks in the footnote. The land revenue was the chief revenue of the empire; so much so that the *Ā'in* has no space for the miscellaneous heads of revenue. As we shall see later, sea customs were included in the official land revenue returns.

1. 'The statement that the miscellaneous revenue equalled the land revenue can hardly be accepted; it must be a great exaggeration. In fact, many of the miscellaneous items, such as sea customs, collected by the *díwāns* were entered as *mahāls* (heads of receipt) in the *māl* (land revenue), and not in the *sā'ir* (miscellaneous) accounts, and thus are already included in Manucci's total of £ 38,725,900. Most of the *sā'ir* items (fines, market dues, ferry tolls) were collected by the police—that is, by the *kotwāls* and *faujdārs*.' (*Ibid.*, P. 418, f.n.1).

LAND REVENUE

We now proceed to appraise the land revenue of the Mughal empire, taking each successive reign separtely.

Akbar.

One may begin with Abū'l-Fazl's figures. In the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' in *Ā'ín*, he begins by telling us that in the 40th. regnal year (March, 1595—March, 1596) the *Jam'-i-dahsāla* (*i.e.*, the annual revenue calculated on ten years' average) for the empire, which consisted at this date of 105 *sarkārs* and 2737 *qaṣbas*,[2] was 3,62,97,55,246 *dāms* (or over 9 crores of rupees) and 12 lacs of betel leaves.

The historian-minister further informs us that the empire was at this time divided into twelve provinces; and that when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, the addition of these three provinces brought the total to fifteen (A'īn. I, 386).

On closer examination of the gazetteer and the statistics that follow (I, 387-596) we find that we have in fact an account not of twelve but of fourteen provinces. Khandesh and Berar are included, but not Ahmadnagar.

The *Ā'ín* was completed in the first quarter of 1598; and the three provinces of Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar were organized and incorporated into the empire early in 1601, *i.e.*, three years later. The statement about these provinces in the *Ā'ín* (quoted above) is, therefore, clearly an anachronism. We can only assume that this reference to later annexations and the details about Khandesh and Berar were incorporated after the *Ā'ín* had been completed; the title 'Account of Twelve *Ṣūbas*' being allowed to stand, as if by an oversight. Omission of Ahmadnagar from the gazetteer, however, remains unexplained.

The total revenue given by Abū'l-Fazl, we regret to say, does not tally with the aggregate of the totals given for the different provinces, even after eliminating those for Berar and Khandesh. Casting up the totals I arrive at 5,29,79,31,833½ *dāms* and 12 lacs of betel leaves for the fourteen provinces. This yields just under 13¼ crores of rupees. To this probably is yet to be added the revenue of the Ahmadnagar province.

2. This word seems to mean here a *mahal* or *pargana*.

The reader will remember that this is all land revenue. But there is one exception. The figure for the Gujarat province (included in this total) comprises also the income from thirteen ports, which amounted to 1,62,028¾ *maḥmūdís*, say, Rs. 67,500.[3] This, however, is an insignificant amount.

Next comes an authority which is second in importance, though, chronologically, it ought to have preceded the *Ā'ín*. Nizām'ud-Dín Aḥmad closes his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarí* (finished presumably in the 38th regnal year (11 March, 1593—10 March, 1594) with the following remarks. After giving the length and breadth of the empire in *karohs*, he says: 'and all this land is good and cultivable. In each *karoh* several villages flourish. At present there are 3,200 towns (*qaṣbas*), each *qaṣba* having attached to it 100, 200, 500 or 1000 villages. The revenue of this country is to-day 640 crore *tanka-i-murādí*. Out of these towns 120 are large ones, which are to-day populous and prosperous'. (P.U.L. MS., f. 502 *b*.).[4]

The *tanka-i-murādí* means a copper coin of Sikandar Lodí's time, twenty of which went to an Akbarí rupee.[5] 640 crores of these *tankas* are, therefore, equal to 32 crores of rupees.

There is nothing in the context or the wording of this passage to show that this is the revenue *from all sources*, as Mr. Thomas assumes. On the contrary it seems obvious that the author is talking of nothing but land revenue. Mr. Thomas is apparently trying to reconcile Nizām'ud-Dín with other authors. Even making this unwarranted assumption, Nizām'ud-Dín Aḥmad's figure is considerably more than double the revenue total in *Ā'ín*. But this is not all. *Ā'ín* was finished in 1598, and includes, as we have seen, revenues of provinces annexed subsequently; so that Abū'l-Fazl's total practically represents the land revenue for the year 1601. If the total income of the Mughal empire was 32 crores in 1593, it would be approaching 40 crores in 1601. We know that the land revenue was 13¼ crores in that year. It is incredible

3. Twelve *mahmūdís* went to five *Akbarí* rupees. The results of Mr. Hodivala's inquiries (*Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* 115—30) are confirmed by a statement in Pelsaert (p. 42).

4. The printed edition (Nawalkishor, Lucknow) is defective.

5. On this point Mr. Thomas and Prof. Hodivala (*Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 51) agree.

that income from other sources amounted to double the land revenue. Edward Thomas's plea for *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarí* being an authoritative work fails rather badly in this particular. And of course Nizām'ud-Dín means land revenue only. In either case his statement is wild and irresponsible.

Our old friend, De Laët, tells us that the annual revenue of the fifteen provinces (which he names) was, 'according to the roll of king Achabar', 17,45,00,000 rupees (*Empire of the Great Mogol*, 172). The date to which this statement refers is the death of Akbār. De Laët's statistics, as we have said before, cannot stand the search-light of modern criticism, V. A. Smith's undeserved panegyrics on *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* notwithstanding. His list of provinces is badly bungled; and, as usual with him, he gives only the grand total, refraining scrupulously from giving the details that go to make it up, as if on purpose to foil our efforts to check the accuracy of his results by reference to other authorities. V. A. Smith found it easier to quote his total than to do the sums in the *Ā'ín* (*Akbar*, 379).

In comparison with Abū'l-Fazl's statements De Laët's have no value. We give the latter, however, for what they are worth.

We are not told by any authority for Akbar's reign how much of the total land revenue came from crown-lands (*Khāliṣa-i-sharífa*), which went to the emperor's privy purse.

Jahāñgír.

Hawkins' statement that the yearly income of the *Khāliṣa* lands in this reign was 50 crores of rupees (Purchas, III, 30) is wild and unworthy of an author who is generally well informed.

In Thomas Coryat's Letters we are told that the Emperor's revenues are 40 million crowns of six shillings' value, by the year (Purchas, IV, 474). At ten rupees to the pound this yields 12 crores of rupees.

But all such statements are nebulous and elusive. We are on solid ground when we come to *Bādshāhnāma*. According to that work the total land revenue of the Mughal empire at the time of Shāh Jahān's accession was 700 crore *dāms*, which comes to 17½ crores of rupees (II, 711).

If De Laët's figure, given above, be assumed to be correct, the annual revenue of the empire seems to have remained stationary

throughout Jahāñgír's reign. Or, is it that De Laët took the figures pertaining to the end of Jahāñgír's reign, and applied them wrongly to the beginning of it? We must not forget that *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was compiled in 1631. This hypothesis is supported by a statement in Mandelslo given below.

Shāh Jahān.

Now we come to Shāh Jahān's reign. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Lāhorí, in the passage cited above, where he is summing up at the end of the twentieth regnal year, goes on to tell us that the total revenue of the older province had gone up by one crore *dāms*, amounting to 800 crores; and that the revenue of the territory conquered since Shāh Jahān's accession totalled 80 crore *dāms*, bringing the aggregate to 880 crores or 22 crores of rupees. Out of this 120 crore *dāms* or 3 crores of rupees was the income from the crown lands or *Khāliṣa*.[6] We are further told that the *Khāliṣa* income had never reached this figure before. (*B.N.*, II, 711-13).

This is the revenue of 23 provinces.

Mandelslo, in a carelessly worded statement, gives 17,45,00,000 rupees as the annual revenue for this reign (*Voyages and Travels*, p. 38). It is probable that this figure and De Laët's estimate are derived from the same source; and possible that they both refer to the end of Jahāñgír's reign, as we have already hinted.

We notice that the land revenue of the Mughal empire rose steadily from the 40th year of Akbar's reign (1595-96) to the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's (1647), due partly of course to conquests, but also, presumably, to stabler conditions and settled administration.

In the last decade of Shāh Jahān's reign Balkh, Badakhshān and Kandahar, which here account for a revenue of 19 crore *dāms* (or nearly half a crore of rupees), were lost to the Mughals. The total for the end of the reign must abate to that extent, to take no notice of other (internal) changes of which there remains no record.

Aurangzeb.

Bernier (1660—65) has a list of 20 provinces, the revenue of which totals Rs. 22,59,35,500. The editor and Mr. Thomas rightly point out that a zero has been omitted by a clerical error in the revenue for Kashmir. So counting 35,00,000 in place of 3,50,000,

6. This has been misunderstood by Mr. Thomas, (Edward Thomas, *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India, from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707*, p. 29-30).

we have to add 31,50,000 to the grand total, which will then become 22,90,85,500 rupees—roughly nearly 23 crores.

Manucci gives Rs. 38,71,94,000 (which his editor corrects to Rs. 38, 72, 59, 000) as the land revenue for 24 provinces (*Storia*, II, 413-15).

Ma'lūmāt'ul-Āfāq (a sober and well-informed work, written some time between the death of Aurangzeb and 1127 *A.H.*) gives the land revenue of 19 provinces (comprising 4440 *parganas*) as 9,24,17,16,082 *dāms* (=23,10,42,902 rupees and 2 *dāms*). Of this 1,72,79,81,251 *dāms* (or about 4 1|3 crores) is stated to be the income of the *Khāliṣa-i-sharífa*, the rest going to the *Jāgírdārs* as salary.[7]

Only about ten or fifteen years separate *Storia* and *Mā'lūmāt'ul-Āfāq*, and the discrepancy between their returns is monstrous.

When we see how the revenue total gradually mounted from 17½ crores (in 1627), through a period of prosperity and annexation, to 22 crores (in 1647), and stood at 23 (in 1660), and note further that as late as 1712 this last figure was only barely exceeded, the wild exaggeration of Manucci's estimate becomes apparent. It is true that Bijapur surrendered in 1686, and Golconda fell in 1687, and that the rear 1691, may be taken as marking the most distant advance of the Mogul power.'[8] Allowing for the consequent addition to the imperial revenue Manucci's return still remains fantastic.

Some of the discrepancies in the various writers are no doubt attributable to redistribution of territory.

The returns in Bernier and in *Ma'lūmāt'ul-Āfaq* have every appearance of being substantially correct for the respective periods to which they refer.

We fully endorse Mr. Irvine's remarks on all these revenue statistics. 'There remains the objection', he says, 'that applies to all similar tables—those of the "Ā'ín-i-Akbarí" included—that we do not know what the figures represent: whether (1) a standard assessment (*jam'a-i-kāmil*), (2) the demand of some particular year (*jam'a-i-wājib*), or (3) the actual collection (*jam'a-i-wasūlí*).' (*Storia* II, 413, fn.1.)

A single-glance summary of the results reached may be attempted in a table.

7. *Ma'lūmāt'ul-Āfāq* (P.U.L. MS.), f. 227 *b*—229 *a*. The two items are given, but the total does not tally. There seems to be a slight mistake in the P.U.L. MS. available to me.

8. V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 443.

Statement of Land Revenue of the Mughal Empire.

Reign	Date	Number of *ṣūbas, sarkārs, maḥals,* etc., in the Empire.	Approximate amount in rupees.	Authorities
Akbar	1593-94	3200 *qaṣbas* (120 large ones)	32 crores	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarí* (P.U.L. MS.), f. 502 *b*.
Do.	1595-96	12 *ṣūbas*=105 *sarkārs*=2737 *qaṣbas*	9¼ crores (and 12 lacs of betel-leaves).	*Ā'ín*, I, 386
Do.	1601	14 *ṣūbas*.	13¼ crores (and 12 lacs of betel leaves)	*Ā'ín*, I, 387-596 (Calculated)
Akbar-Jahāñgír	1605		17,45,00,000	De Laët, 172.
Jahāñgír			12 crores	Thomas Coryat (Purchas, IV, 474).
Jahāñgír-Shāh Jahān	1627		17½ crores	*B.N.* II, 711.
Shāh Jahān			17,45,00,000	Mandelslo, 38
Do.	1647	23 provinces	22 crores (3 crores, crown lands)	*B.N.*, II, 711-13.
Shāh Jahān-Aurangzeb	1658	20 provinces	21½ crores	Calculated
Aurangzeb	1660-65	20 provinces	23 crores	Bernier
Do.	end of 17th century	24 provinces	38¾ crores	*Storia*, II, 413-15
After Aurangzeb's death		19 provinces= 4440 *maḥals*	23 crores (4 1\|3 crores, crown lands)	*Ma'lūmāt'-ul-Āfāq* (P.U.L. MS.), f. 227 *b*—229 *a*

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"The King of Vellore"

By

W. H. Moreland.

England, 10-2-32.

[My dear Sir,

You may perhaps care to print this note, or else discuss it in correspondence. I should like to see the matter cleared up—especially as I am now editing another book in which the style 'King of Vellore' is applied to Venkata about 1612-14.

The main point is: Why did the inhabitants of Tegnapatam call their king 'King of Vellore' in March, 1610, and earlier? One could understand the survival of a style which had become obsolete: but, according to the Reviewer, this is the anticipation of a style which had not yet become appropriate.

yours sincerely

W. H. MORELAND.]

A friendly Reviewer in this *Journal* (August, 1931, p. 222) questioned the statement made in the Hakluyt Society's recent volume, *Relations of Golconda,* that Vellore was the capital of Venkata, the reigning sovereign of the Vijayanagar dynasty, from about A.D. 1608, the date to which the *Relations* go back; and suggested that the term 'King of Vellore' may have come into use owing to negotiations having been carried on with the King when he happened to be in camp at Vellore. It may be worth while to bring together the evidence on this point contained in European records of the period.

Portuguese envoys seem to have visited the Court of Venkata fairly often, for whenever the Dutch went there they found Portuguese representatives at work; but no contemporary Portuguese records have been traced. No English envoys visited this King, so the evidence is confined to Dutch sources. The titles of these sources are cumbrous, and I shall cite them in abbreviated form, giving a fuller description at the end of the note.

Dutch relations with Vijayanagar began in 1608, when the Company was allowed to establish a factory at Tegnapatam, but on this occasion all the negotiations were conducted with the Nāyak of Gingee, or rather with his agent, known in the Dutch records as the great Aya', (*Heeres,* 55, *De Jonge.* III. 280, *Terpstra,*

Ch. IV), and there is no reference in the records to the King. Two years later, Arend Maertssen arrived on the Coromandel Coast with orders from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to renew the arrangement for this factory, and an agreement was made with the Nāyak on 29th March, 1610 (*Heeres*, 78, *De Jonge*, III. 345). On this occasion Maertssen visited Gingee, and the new agreement was sent for sanction to the King at Vellore (*Terpstra*, Ch. V, where the story is told at length from the records in the Rijksarchief). About the same time correspondence was opened with the King regarding the establishment of a factory at Pulicat, and the King sent envoys to draw up an agreement for this factory; the agreement was sent to Vellore for sanction, and on the 28th April, authority was received to start trade. On 15th May, when Maertssen had gone to Pulicat for that purpose, the two agreements arrived there sanctioned by the King, with an invitation to Maertssen to visit the Court in person.

Maertssen with a small party started forthwith for Vellore, and on 25th May he found the King at a village about 25 miles short of that town. He hoped to settle matters there, but this could not be done because the King "desired that they should see his magnificence and royal state, his noble castles and remarkable buildings". The King therefore returned to Vellore, where Maertssen arrived on 27th May, and three days later he was received in audience. At this point a Portuguese envoy intervened, and for some time the King hesitated between the parties, but eventually he refused the tempting Portuguese offers, and the grant for the Dutch factory at Pulicat was not disturbed.

Maertssen then left the locality, having placed Hans Marcelis in charge of the new factory, where disputes with the local officials arose almost immediately. On hearing this, the King sent for both parties to Vellore. Marcelis started on 1st August, and, after some delay, had an audience of the King on the 30th. Portuguese envoys again intervened with presents and promises, and an interval of intrigue followed, but Marcelis was able to leave Vellore on 26th September, with the grant for Pulicat confirmed in a somewhat more favourable form. From these particulars it will be seen that in 1610 the King was in Vellore continuously, or almost continuously, from March to the end of September.

The next Dutch appearance at his court was in 1612, when Wemmer van Berchem, who had become Director of the Coromandel factories, came to Vellore to complain of the sack of the Pulicat factory by the Portuguese (Dijk, 24-28; *Heeres*, 100-104,

where Dijk's misreading of the name of Velover is corrected). Wemmer was a man of exceptional energy, and apparently possessed the art of getting things done quickly. He left Pulicat on 2nd December, had an audience of the King at Vellore on 10th, obtained a formal agreement on 12th, went on to Kolār, where Jagarāja was with the royal army, made an agreement with him, and was back in Pulicat by 6th January, 1613.

No other Dutch mission to the court is recorded during Venkata's lifetime; and, if these facts stood alone, they would not be inconsistent with the Reviewer's suggestion that the style 'King of Vellore' might have arisen from the accident of the King being temporarily at Vellore from March to September, 1610, and again in December, 1612, though the reference to the castles and buildings at Vellore is more appropriate to a capital city than to a temporary halting place. The suggestion is, however, definitely negatived by the fact that the style 'King of Vellore' was in use in Tegnapatam before any Dutchman had visited the King; it was used in the Dutch letter-book at least as early as 26th March, 1610, or two months before Maertssen's mission. Under that date the letter-book shows a letter "received from the great King *Venekat poti Raij*, King of Velor", in which the King offered the Dutch a choice of one of the three ports "Pallicatte, Connomor, Armogon", and assured them of his protection. This letter has not, so far as I know, been published; the quotation is made from a photostat supplied by the Rijksarchief. The style 'King of Vellore' was thus current at Tegnapatam, one of Venkata's seaports, in March, 1610, for of course the Dutch took it from the inhabitants of that place, at the time their only factory in the Kingdom. If Vellore was not the captial at that time, I must leave the Reviewer to explain how the style in question came to be in current use, for I can think of no other possible origin.

The Reviewer writes that "In the day of Venkata certainly, the capital was still Penugonda, where he had to stand a siege by the Golconda army in 1612, and where he actually died in 1614, if the local accounts could be believed". I do not know where to find the description of that siege, but is it certain that Venkata was with the army? As has been said above, he was at Vellore in December of that year, when his army was at Kolār, so he was not always with the army at this period of his reign. As to the place of his death, in some parts of India it was the practice for a dying King to be taken to some particular place, commonly a former capital; might not this practice explain the local accounts which the Reviewer quotes with caution?

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Heeres.—Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, compiled by J. E. Heeres. The Hague, 1907.

Terpstra.—De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Coromandel by H. Terpstra. Groningen, 1911.

The letter and the note printed above are from Mr. Moreland, and have reference to a review of a publication by the Hakluyt Society, Relations of Golconda, on pages 219 to 223 of volume X of the Journal of Indian History. The matter has reference to the Vijayanagar ruler of the period, Venkata II, as he is sometimes called of Vijayanagar. His capital is referred to as Vēlūr, and, what is really more to the point, that he is himself described king of Vēlūr by European writers of the period, among them the Dutch correspondence published, in the Relations of Golconda. The points at issue therefore are whether (1) there is justification for calling Vēlūr the capital of the empire of Vijayanagar under Venkata; and (2) whether there is justification for his territory as a whole being described as kingdom of Vēlūr. Mr. Moreland's note gives full references to the Dutch correspondence, where Venkatapati is spoken of as king of Vēlūr with a variation in the spelling of the word. It would conduce to clearness if a short historical survey be taken of the rule of Venkata II.

Venkata was on the throne from 1585 to 1614. His coronation actually took place in Chandragiri, where he usually resided during the last years of the reign of his father and during the reign of his elder brother as viceroy of the south. When he was annointed, however, he was annointed as ruler of the empire of Vijayanagar, enthroned at Penugonda. His early inscriptions of dates 1585,[1] 1587,[2] and 1589[3] state that he was seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (or Penugonda). Other inscriptions at different dates also refer to him as being seated on the "Jewelled

1. Epi. Col. 71 of 1915. 2. Epi. Car. VII, S. H. 83.
3. Ibid XII, C. K. 39.

Throne" at Penugonda. These refer to year 1593,[4] 1599[5] 1603,[6] 1605,[7] 1608,[8] 1609,[9] 1610,[10] and 1612.[11] We need go no further in search for authorities of this class, and may state it broadly that the proper style of the sovereign was "Ruler of Vijayanagar", whether he be called king or emperor; and he is generally said to be ruling from his throne at Penugonda, although we come occasionally upon records that refer to him as ruling from Vijayanagar itself. So far therefore as these inscriptional records go, we are concerned with the ruler of Vijayanagar, and his permanent capital is Penugonda.

We mentioned already that Venkatapati was accustomed to reside in Chandragiri as viceroy of the south, both under his brother and even under his father. During the period when the Jesuits of South India came into contact with him, he was in residence in Chandragiri, and Jesuit references regard Chandragiri as the capital. The Jesuit fathers who were sent out to reside at the court of Venkata are spoken of as the Mission to Vijayanagar, though residing in Chandragiri. The annual letter of the Jesuits for Eastern India speaks of El. Rey de Bisnaga.[12] The mission is spoken of as the mission to Vijayanagar in a letter of the previous year.[13] A letter[14] of Father Pimenta dated 1602 speaks of Venkatapati as the emperor of Vijayanagar in the capital at Chandragiri. Philip III's letter to the Portuguese viceroy refers to the ambassador from the king of Vijayanagar.[15] The Dutch agreement regarding Pulicat refers to Venkṭa as king of the Carnatic.[16] The travellor Floris refers to the king as "king of Narasinga".[17] The same writer refers to the same king as "king of Narasinga of Vēlūr" in a letter dated 1614.[18] There is a reference to the year 1606[19] to the mission to

4. 377 of 1904.
5. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, I, page 134.
6. No. 236 of 1903.
7. Sewell's Lists, I, page 101; 255 of 1903.
8. Rangachari, I, pages 622, 535.
9. 67 of 1915.
10. 184 of 1913.
11. Epi. Car. II, TN. 62. Ibid XII, S; 84. Butterworth and V. Chetty III, pages 1284-1286.
12. Appendix C, VI, Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M.A.
13. Ibid letter C II.
14. Ibid C. V.
15. Aravidu Dynasty B. 7.
16. Ibid, pp. 453-54.
17. Purchas, His Pilgrims III, page 320.
18. Ibid III, pages 336-27.
19. Father Quitinno's letter to Father Aquiviva, Ibid C. 13.

Bisnaga visiting both Chandragiri and Vēlūr. In 1607[20] there is a reference to the mission to Bisnaga in Chandragiri. Similarly a letter[21] from the Provincial of Cochin refers to the king of Bisnaga. The annual letter dated 1607[22] refers to the kingdom of Vijayanagar several times. A letter from Philip III of Spain to Venkaṭa styles him king of Vijayanagar. The letter is quoted *in extenso* on page 445 of the Aravidu Dynasty. The letter in original is found in appendix B of the work. There is again a reference[23] to the mission to Bisnaga in a letter of date 1608, but referring to the year 1606-7. In 1611[24] the letter from Cochin quoting one of the previous year, December 12, refers to Rey de Bisnaga. The memorial[25] against Jesuits some time before 1610 also makes similar references. In a letter of 1613,[26] Mylapore is referred to as belonging to the king of Bisnaga. This time it is the Portuguese viceroy that is writing to the king. A letter dated 1614 from the Portuguese viceroy to Philip III refers to the death of Rey de Bisnaga, and the disturbances that followed. The same year a letter from Floris speaks of 'the king of Narasinga of Vēlūr'.[27] There is a similar reference to him as 'king of Vēlūr' in a letter[28] of John Gourney dated 18th July 1614. Floris refers to his death as that of the king of Vēlūr. It will be seen from this that while the general style and description of this ruler is as the King or Emperor of Vijayanagar, he is sometimes spoken of also as king of Narasinga. References to him as king of Vēlūr are not altogether absent, even among writers other than the Dutch.

Venkaṭa was during the first few years after his coronation, about seven or eight years, in Penugonda, which then came to be spoken of as the royal capital. About 1592-93, he moved into Chandragiri, where he had been accustomed to stay for long years, as that was his vice-regal headquarters. There apparently he stayed usually. The representatives of the Jusuit missions met him there, and some of them went into residence there as representatives of the mission at his court. It was in 1604 or a little later that Lingamanāyaka son of Chinna Bomma of Vēlūr rebell-

20. Ibid C. 18.
21. Ibid C. 21.
22. Ibid C. 22.
23. Ibid C. 26.
24. Ibid C. 31.
25. Ibid C. 37.
26. Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar B. No. 17.
27. Purchas His Piligrims III, pages 336-7.
28. Letters Received from East India Company 2, page 83.

ed. The rebellion was put down after defeating Lingama at Minnali, as it is called, a small railway station on the Madras-Bangalore railway line, and a subsequent siege of the strong fort of Vēlūr. After the place had been taken and order was introduced Venkaṭa, went into Vellore where he was in residence for a number of years. He often moved out of the capital and stayed elsewhere. On one occasion a mission of the Jesuits went to him when he was 45 miles away in the camp. The mission was asked to meet him at Vēlūr to which he returned later. The Jesuit representatives continued to be in Chandragiri. The king himself was sometimes there, so that it would seem as though it did not matter where the king was in residence. The kingdom continued to be the kingdom of Vijayanagar, or the kingdom of the Karnāṭaka, and he was still ruling from the royal capital of Penugonda, seated on his diamond throne, in formal documents.

References to the king of Vēlūr therefore would be correct only if one understood the king of Vēlūr to mean the king at Vēlūr. The fact that he is referred to sometimes in that style by occasional travellers will not justify his being called "the King of Vēlūr." Vēlūr constituted certainly a government, but as a government it was subordinate to the Nayak at Gingee, so that Vellore did not enjoy the privilege of even being a Nayakdom of the standing of Madura, Tanjore or Gingee. Of course, it is not impossible by virtue of its position and its importance as a fortified centre, that it may have served as the capital. When inscriptions of Venkaṭa and his subjects always call him king of Vijayanagar, when even foreign travellers and the Jesuit fathers style him generally as king of Vijayanagar or king of Narasinga (this latter being a peculiar European designation more or less exclusively), and when, in formal documents by the Portuguese viceroy and even of the Spanish King Philip III, he is styled king of Vijayanagar or emperor of Vijayanagar, the justification for calling him king of Vēlūr seems small indeed. People may certainly speak of him as king of Vēlūr in the sense that the king was then in residence in Vellore, as in fact he was the king of that part of the country. It is hardly necessary to pile up more evidence.

While at the subject, we may perhaps refer to another incident to which the review made reference, the siege of Penugonda by the Muhammadans in 1612. This comes out in detail in the Ragunātha Abyudhayam, the life of the Tanjore Nayak Ragunātha. The author of the Āravīdu dynasty, my friend the Rev. H. Heras, refers to Ragunātha's assistance to Venkaṭapati to the period of the siege of Penugonda

very early in Venkaṭa's reign. This is hardly possible for the following reasons. Ragunātha at the time is spoken of as a young man, hardly fit to bear the responsibilities of rule, and his father Achyuta required to be persuaded to entrust him with the administration and abdicate, about 1614 or thereabouts as he had grown very old and rather other-worldly minded to continue in power.

As a result of the services rendered to the country and the emperor, Ragunātha is said to have obtained the release of Krishnappanayaka of Gingee who was in prison in Penugonda. Krishna was punished for his rebellion, and thrown into prison about the end of the year 1609; and it is later that he should have been pardoned and restored to his position. The siege that is referred to is a later siege, and not the earlier one, and Raghunātha's intervention must have taken place then.

Readers have now enough material to form their own opinion whether Venkaṭa or his immediate successors can be called kings of Vellore, while Vellore may be called a capital, or even the capital, during the period when the king happened to be resident there. Indian rulers certainly were accustomed to remain in various places in their territory even for considerable periods, the capital still remaining one fixed place, as the formal capital. It seems hardly necessary in this instance to regard it as any otherwise than this. Even grants[29] of Rama II, the successor of Venkaṭa dated A.D. 1623 refer to his being in residence in Penugonda. Later on than this in A.D. 1636, the Kondiyāta grant[30] of Venkaṭa III refers to him as being in Penugonda while making the grant.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

29. Ep. Car. III No. 62. Ibid 12 Ck. I.
30. V. R. Vol. I. N. Arcot 325 A .Copper-plate grant.

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES IN ASSAM.

The recent publication of the first Bulletin of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, gives us an account of the work of the Department since its inception. The *puthis* and transcripts collected by the Department have been catalogued by Professor S. K. Bhuyan of the Cotton College, Gauhati, the Honorary Assistant Director of the Department. The Department owes its origin to the efforts of Mr. J. R. Cunningham, C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Assam, 1912-1931, who perceived the need for and largely helped in the realisation of a Government organisation for the furtherance of research work. Professor Bhuyan has recently been engaged examining the Assam records deposited in the archives of the Local Government and also in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, and is the author of a book—"Early British Relations with Assam," published by the Local Government in 1928. The Department of Ethnography, started first under the Directorship of Mr. (afterwards Sir E. A.) Gait and pushed on into great usefulness by his successors in the Direction, Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon, and Dr. J. H. Hutton, has been showing very fruitful work, of which the monographs brought out on the different hill-tribes, like the Lushai Kukis, the Angami Nagas, the Lhota Nagas and the Ao Nagas, have been specially useful to anthropological studies. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies will be thus a complement to the Ethnographic Department, and will accomplish the objects originally aimed at by Sir Charles Lyall, sometime Chief Commissioner of the Province and Sir E. A. Gait who actually began the scheme of historical research in the Province in 1894 and brought out his "History of Assam" in 1905. A systematic search for *Assamese mss* was begun by Mr. Hemachandra Goswami in 1912-13; and there was also some provision made for transcribing and publishing the historical *mss* and for compiling a descriptive catalogue of the *puthis* of Mr. Goswami's collection.

The new Department which has been in existence for a period of just over three years has, to judge from the report of its activities, more than justified its existence. It has published several books the *Kama-ratna Tantra,* including both the *Assamese* text and parallel English translation; a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Assamese Manuscripts,* dealing with Assamese, Ahom and Sanskrit manuscripts, collected by Mr. Goswami, and the *Ahom Buranji* coming down to 1838 containing a parallel English translation, by

Mr. Gopalchandra Barua. Besides these three publications mentioned above, Mr. Bhuyan has edited for the Department. (1) The *Assam Buranji,* being an enlarged version of the chronicle of Kasinath Tamuli-Phukan, and (2) *Kamarupar Buranji* (the history of Kamarupa from the earliest times down to the close of the war with the Mughals in 1682 A.D.—both being equipped with prefaces in English and Assamese. Several other *Buranjis,* also edited by the indefatigable Professor Bhuyan, are in the press and will be published in the course of this year; and one of them, the *Tungkhungia Buranji,* has also been translated by him into English. The Department has also been financing the publication of some valuable Meithi manuscripts, and other works like the *Dak-Bhamita, Hasti-Vidyamava* and *Vaidya-Kalpataru.* The collection of manuscripts, letters exchanged between the Ahom Court and other states like Cooch-Bihar, Jayantia, Cachar, the Nawabs of Dacca and the Emperors of Delhi, and their compilation with explanatory matter, and transcripts of historical importance, a list of which is given in this Bulletin (Part III), are among the other activities of the Department. The Department will, we trust, be able, with the labours of enthusiastic researchers like Professor Bhuyan, to produce in a short time work that will throw light upon many dark corners of Assamese history and Assamese relations with the neighbouring tribes and states. To quote an Assamese simile, taken from the report, "the nursery has been laid and considerable acreage covered with plantation. The first crops have been placed on the market, followed by satisfactory response . . . and the market thoroughly gauged . . ".

C. S. S.

Obituary

THE LATE CANON EDWARD SELL, D.D.

The late Canon Sell passed away on the 15th of February last at the ripe age of 93, having been in India for a little over 66 years. He came as a missionary, and was in charge of the Harris High School for Muhammadans in Madras. This first appointment gave the turn to his studies. He applied himself to the study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and became an authority in these languages. He became examiner for Higher Proficiency under Government, and occupied the position of Chairman of the Board of Studies in these languages and Chairman of various boards of examiners at the University of Madras for a series of years. During the long years of his active work, he wrote various works, but among them, we may mention the Faith of Islam, the Historical Development of the Koran, Studies in Islam and Islam in Spain. These and some others earned for him the degree of D. D. *Honoris Causa* from the Edinburgh University, and the Kaisari Hind Medal from the Government.

Apart from his activity as a scholar, he devoted himself to organising mission work and was interested primarily in the creation of an autonomous Indian Church. During the long period of forty years, he made this one of his main objects, and was directly instrumental in the appointment of an Indian to an Anglican Bishopric, the lucky recipient of this honour being Dr. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal in the Nizam's Dominions. He was interested in educational activities, and collaborated with the late Dr. William Miller of the Christian College in bringing about a change in the constitution of the Free Church which enabled the college to go on unhampered. He took interest in the progress of other educational institutions as well, such as the Doveton College and Bishop Corrie's Grammar School. Another one of his activities was the project that he carried through successfully of publishing as many as 31 commentaries on the Old Testament and Jewish literature. These were intended to aid the Indian clergy in the results of the latest biblical scholarship to enable them to teach and preach the religion of Christ with effect.

The last piece of work in which he was deeply interested, and to which he devoted the best of his energies is the creation of a

trust fund, which goes by his name now. For thirty years he managed the press, which used to be called the S. P. C. K. press, and became the Madras Diocesan Press some years ago. He developed this business organisation which began with a capital of Rs. 40,000 into one which realised 5 lakhs of rupees for the purpose of this trust-fund the income from which is to be applied for the service of the Indian Church.

We have had the pleasure of his acquaintance during the last score of years of his life, and have enjoyed the benefits of the genuine friendship of the ripe scholar and the sympathetic man. Though he passes away full of years and achievement, we cannot but regret the removal of a familiar figure from amongst us.

Editorial

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of the three magnificent volumes of the report of the Director-General of Archaeology on the Indus Valley Civilisation, with which Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the publisher, favoured us. We have already published a notice of the report in the last number of the Journal, and shall be publishing a more detailed review in later issues as occasion offers. This is merely to acknowledge the kindness of the enterprising publisher for this exhibition of regard for the Journal of Indian History.

Amongst a number of publications sent by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, we have received an important publication, *Jayākhyā Samhita,* a work bearing on the *Āgamas,* pertaining to the *Bhakti* cult of the Vaishnavas. This is a very important work being one of the *three jewels* of this school of *Bhakti,* the other two being the *Sāttvata,* and the *Paushkara.* A number of works belonging to this class have already been published, and have been made available in one form or another. A number of them happen to be in South Indian scripts, and therefore not really accessible to the wider body of scholars than those in South India. The best published as yet is the *Ahirbudhnya Samhita* published some years ago by Dr. Schrader with a learned introduction and other apparatus necessary for the understanding of the work. Dr. Bhattacharya, the editor of the Gaikawad's Series, publishes an introduction to the *Jayākhyā* following to a great extent the much more elaborate introduction of Dr. Schrader. While admitting the antiquity of the *Pāncharātra* as being well-known even in the time of Pānini, the grammarian, he discusses the actual date of the *Jayākhyā,* and arrives at the conclusion that this work may be referable to the fifth century A.D. He is led to this specific conclusion by a palaeographical datum, which he finds in the *Jayākhyā,* where a number of letters of the the alphabet happen to be named and described. Comparing the description given with the characters current at various periods, he comes to the conclusion that the alphabetical system of the *Jayākhyā* lies between the Bilsad inscriptions of A.D. 414 and the Toramana Inscription of A.D. 500. Even on his own examination of the alphabetical characters given on the table facing page 34 of his introduction, a comparison of all the letters in their cumulative result would bring the system nearer to the Kushan. In another part of the introduction, there is a re-

ference to the Tamil texts of the classical period, which contain references to the *Āgamaic* features of Vaishnavism. We do not see, however, specific references to the four *Vyūhas* in poem 3 of the *Paripādal,* nor to stanza 44 of the *Tiruchanda-viruttam,* where this is equally under reference. The author of this latter poem Tirumaliśai Ālvar actually refers to the *Āgamic* works of the Vaishnavas. Such clear references to the *Vyūhas* indicate a stage of South Indian *Pāncharātra* referrable to the earliest, according to Dr. Schrader's classification. We shall reserve for a future occasion a fuller discussion of the matter, but we content ourselves with drawing attention to the point here, as the publication of the *Jayākhyā* marks an important step in the study of this literature. We have nothing but commendation for the manner in which the text is published, and for the learned introduction both by the General Editor, and by the actual editor of the work, Pandit Krishnamachariar.

We are glad to note that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has taken up a discussion of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, of the Gupta dynasty in the Behar and Orissa Research Society's Journal. This discussion is based upon a previous one by Professor Altekar of the Benares Hindu University, who brought together the passages, which had been made available by Professor Sylvain Levi from the newly discovered drama, *Dēvichandraguptam,* to which we had drawn attention long ago in our lectures to the Madras University, and published in the Gupta Supplement of the Journal of Indian History. While the discussion therefore by Altekar brought to light a new Gupta ruler by name Rāmagupta, and the misfortune that befell him in a campaign against the Śakas, it left the position of Chandragupta in connection with the event somewhat dubious. Chandragupta there turns out to be the prince, younger brother of Rāmagupta, who volunteered service to outwit the Śaka ruler in regard to the surrender of the queen. Having done this successfully, he saved the king and the empire from the disgrace likely to result from the surrender of the queen. He is found soon after to have been the means of dispossessing Rāmagupta both of his empire and of his queen. There is an allusion to this occurrence in the Harshacharita of Bāna and that was explained in an exactly similar way by Sankarārya, the commentator, who supplied the details that Chandragupta overthrew the enemy and married his brother's wife. This was thought to be somewhat of an absurd position at the time, as we did take it upon ourselves to remark. It has since turned out to have been the case by what is stated in the drama Dēvichandraguptam ascribed to Viśākadatta,

the author of the drama Mudrarākshasa, the concluding stanza of which has a reference to the reigning king which has been read as Avantivarma in certain manuscripts, Chandragupta in others. There has been a controversy, and a discussion over the point itself. We find however that all the different manuscripts in the Tanjore Library, about twenty-five in number, and not all of them traceable to the same source, give the reading uniformly as Chandragupta; not one of them gives the variant Avantivarma. This is of value as Dhundirāja, the only commentator on the Mudrārākshasa lived at the court of Ekoji, the half brother of Shivaji, and the first Mahratta ruler of Tanjore, in whose reign he wrote the commentary. The datum becomes of value as the commentator must have collected the variant versions then available about the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Perhaps it makes it more probable that the Mudrarākshasa was written in the court of Chandragupta, as perhaps the Dēvichandraguptam itself. In the absence of the whole text, it would be difficult to discuss what the Dēvichandraguptam actually contained and what it did not. But the discussion of this matter actually started with us, at any rate, as the Sanskrit *śloka* quoted in the Kāvya Mīmāmsa by Rājaśēkhara on page 47. We shall discuss the verse in detail on another occasion, but we feel concerned to point out here that both Professor Altekar and Mr. Jayaswal feel that the verse is in all probability not an extract from the Dēvichandraguptam; and the latter even regards the verse as not referring to Chandragupta at all. We closed our contribution Chandragupta Vikramāditya, made to the Patna University Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Memorial volume with a question whether the stanza did not refer to the emperor Chandragupta, and composed in glorification of his heroic deeds. Since two subsequent investigators have taken it upon themselves to indicate clearly that they regard the stanza as having nothing to do with Chandragupta, we may take occasion to show here that it would be pointless absolutely, if the latter two lines of the stanza are not in reference to Chandragupta II, from the point of view of the rhetorician Rājaśēkhara. Even otherwise we have sufficient indication that the Kinnara women folk sang the glories of Chandragupta II, and no other, and it is very probable that the stanza is perhaps the closing stanza of the Dēvichandraguptam. It is not impossible that it might occur elsewhere in the course of the drama. Rājaśēkhara's definition of *Kathōttha,* for which he gives the stanza as an illustration, is *Vrittē-itivrittah*, that is an occurrence or an incident springing out of another incident; in other words, what happened is the result of something that had already happened. There would be absolutely no point unless the second

half of the *śloka* is interpreted with a view to this. Thus interpreted it can refer to no other than Chandragupta himself.

Advance in Indian cultural studies has in recent times given its due place to the Mahābhārata as at the foundation of Indian thought, religious and secular. It is not so long ago that one section of scholars, at any rate, felt it necessary to call attention to this need, particularly on the Continent. This received a stimulus when the first Indian Oriental Conference at Poona considered the question of an authoritative edition of the Mahābhārata, which had already been thought of and for which some little work had been done in Europe. The starting of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, and the formation of the Indian Oriental Conference made it possible to transfer the carrying out of the scheme to India, and work on this important scheme had been put in hand almost immediately. Work is going on on that scheme, and we have had five fascicules containing slightly more than half of the first *parvan* of the Mahābhārata.

In the course of the various discussions connected with this large scheme of work, was naturally one on the relative merits of the codices of texts preserved in various localities all over the vast country. Opinion was gradually crystallising that while the variations in the text are very vast, certain classes of manuscript material coming from certain localities exhibited the least corruption and certain others the most. Kashmir figures honourably in the first, and the South Indian texts come in for considerable notoriety in the second. This arose from the fact that there was a recent edition of the Mahābhārata in the south following, of course, one or two others that existed even before that. This latest edition made inclusiveness as its main characteristic and incorporated in it whatever was the text of the Mahābhārata on manuscript authority as well as printed texts. Examination of southern manuscripts in connection with the edition of an All-India Mahābhārata, and particularly the examination of manuscripts in the Palace Library at Tanjore led to the discovery that a group of Manuscripts of a particular period preserved the text much more carefully than those of the following periods. There has been besides a continuous tradition of Mahābhārata reading traceable in the historical records of the south, from which all the vernaculars of the south have made versions in their own languages. There were besides some commentators, at any rate, who have made references to these texts and even commented on them in various ways. It seemed desirable therefore that as an essential preparation for the critical study of the Mahābhārata a correct edition of the southern

text as such would be desirable in many ways. The continuity of text tradition is one feature. The vicissitudes that made for large destruction of manuscripts in the north were not so frequent, it might even be said, did not exist, in anything like the same degree, as in the north. The vernacular versions provide a landmark, and with these versions must be included the Javnese version which seems to have gone from the south. The period when Tanjore was under the Nayaks of Vijayanagar, the period extending from the reign of Achyutarāya beginning A.D. 1530 and ending with the overthrow of the dynasty by the southern viceroys by Bijapur in A.D. 1672-74 was a period when the tradition of preserving Hindu culture showed itself at its best. Manuscript corruption seems to become rampant afterwards. This may have been due to the prevalent anarchy of the time, which does not appear to have even excluded this department of scholarship. Manuscripts therefore of the period of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty, and such commentarial aid as could be got for periods previous have been utilised in the preparation of a southern recension and the well-known Madras publishers, Messrs. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, and the present proprietor V. Venkateswara Sastrulu came forward to undertake the publication. The work has been begun, and we have three volumes out of a projected eighteen, completing the first two books. With ordinary steadiness and rapidity, the edition ought to be available to the public in another couple of years or three at the outside. In the interest of Mahābhārata scholarship and the editors and publishers as well, it is desirable that the work is brought to completion as soon as it is compatible with careful work. We wish the enterprise all success, and hope that it will have a reception sufficiently encouraging to those that have initiated the enterprise and are actually carrying it out.

While on this subject, we may refer to a new Tamil version of of the Mahābhārata, which has been going on for well over a score of years and has reached its completion during the last quarter. It is a literal Tamil translation of the Mahābhārata based on the Kumbakonam edition of the work. The first vernacular version of the Mahābhārata so far known is the Tamil version ascribable to the classical age of the Tamils, who regarded the doing of the Mahābhārata in Tamil as of importance comparable to the very establishment of the Tamil Academy itself. While this serves the needs only of the Tamil country, we welcome its completion as the completion of a vast work undertaken by a Pandit friend of ours, Pandit M. V. Ramanujachariar. The Sanskrit Academy in Madras did itself the honour of conferring upon him a title in appreciation of his labour in completing this great work.

Reviews

PICTURESQUE INDIA

By

M. Hurlimann,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a work which attempts to give an idea of the whole of India by means of pictures, or photographic reproductions of the more remarkable features of India, primarily monumental, and to some extent even natural. The work gives 304 full page reproductions of pictures, beginning with the protecting deity of the triad Vishnu appropriately opening the book in the pronounced attitude of "Have no fear" (Abhyaya), with the letter-press Vishnu the preserver. Then we are taken on to a few scenes in the great temple at Rāmēśwaram, and then on in a particular order of a tourist's programme through a variety of scenes, coming ultimately back to a bronze statue in the Madras Museum of the dancing Śiva, Naṭēśa, in the ecstatic bliss of an almost self-forgetful dance. The illustrations themselves contain a remarkable collection. The best of the temples of South India come into view as also the most remarkable of the Islamic monuments of northern and western India; some domestic scenes, as also representations of individual and social life. There is a rapid survey of the pictures produced in an introduction, which, at any rate, begins the art history of India with Asoka and brings it in a continuous series down to practically modern times. The work ought to be of interest not merely to the tourists but also to those who wish to gain an idea of India without the labour of an elaborate study.

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

By

R. B. Mowat,

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., (15 shillings) net.

In this work Professor Mowat, already well-known by his handbooks on English History and European History, attempts to tackle the question of the emergence of a European concert, the nineteenth century analogue, of what has now matured into the League of Nations. As a consequence of the joint efforts of the greater monarchs of Europe who co-operated in bringing about the downfall of Napoleon, these monarchs set themselves up in a

or less permanent conference with a view to avoiding war result of various matters of dispute between subjects and eigns in the states of Europe. Such a body naturally chang- form from time to time, and naturally exercised a varying e of influence in the councils of Europe in connection with articular object that it set before itself. It tried to exercise fluence in a period immediately following that of Napoleon, nd being, on the whole, lukewarm. In the periods follow- t had not such a recognised existence through the varying s of the nineteenth century Europe, but had gradually ged into a well-known body with a great deal of potentiality od. The position of the concert came to a test at the termi- n of the Franco-German War, which set up a new order in e, and, by that fact, called for vigilance, as it was thought, e part of some of the more powerful states directly affected by ar, particularly Germany. The concert rendered useful ser- as for instance in the Berlin Congress; but on many other ons, in which it might have proved efficient if all the con- l powers took the same, or a similar view of its position in ffairs of Europe. But almost from the beginning, the new- empire of Germany refused to bring herself into it so whole- edly as some of the other powers, and this introduced a to be reckoned with of the concert failing to take rted action or exercise a concerted pressure whenever called It was gradually coming to be felt as the American President, veldt, put it on one occasion, that the best way to war is to be the most prepared for it. It is almost in tacit nition of that principle that all Europe went about in a race g themselves to the very teeth, which culminated in the cataclysm of the Great War.

he consideration of the concert of Europe naturally and by observed transition passes into the question of responsibility e war. The responsibility, according to this work, gets more s definitely fixed on Germany, though that position is hardly niversally accepted as the correct position. But ever since Berlin Congress, that Germany did not show it- ready to fall in with the views of the more powers of the concert, is beyond question true. he best criticism that has been offered so far is that tion of the other powers on these various occasions was not them uniform, and some of them such as France in certain had no more tendency to settle questions by peaceful confer- But Professor Mowat's finding may perhaps be given in his

own words; "That it failed to preserve peace in the end seems chiefly because, in the last (but not, so far as can be judged, the most difficult) crisis, Germany refused to collaborate in the concert." This general position is explained on page 8 of the book:—"Nevertheless Germany must bear the chief responsibility of the war for three reasons: firstly, because she had never really believed in the Concert of Europe and had rather encouraged than abated the "war-atmosphere" of 1871 to 1914; secondly, because in the actual crisis of July 1914, she rejected two proposals that might quite possibly have averted the actual outbreak of a general War (Grey's proposal of July 26 for a Conference, and the Tsar's proposal of July 29 for reference to the Hague Tribunal); and thirdly, because, on hearing of the Russian general mobilisation order, she decided that she could not take the risk of waiting a few more days or weeks, merely "counter-mobilising", but forthwith precipitated hostilities'. Those that wish to understand the present day problems of Europe would benefit much by a glance through this book.

SHIVAJI THE FOUNDER OF THE MAHRATTA SWARAJ

By

Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.,

Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala,

(*Puraskrita Grantha Mala No.* 26.)

Published by the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

The recent celebration of the ter-centinary of the birthday of Shivaji in the year 1930 was taken advantage of by the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala to collect together and put into a handy form the material for the early history of the Mahrattas culminating in the establishment of Shivaji as the founder of the Mahratta kingdom. There are many valuable works bearing on the life of Shivaji, and perhaps even much unnecessary controversy has been imported into a subject, which while it may lend itself to controversy in regard to particular topics, need hardly have become quite so controversial generally as it has actually become. Shivaji's life has been cast in an eventful period of Indian History, and his very existence and activity have been responsible for many a stirring event in the interesting annals of the efforts of the last great Mughal, Aurangzeb, to subdue the south and reduce it to subordination to his authority. The earlier efforts therefore at writing an account of the rise of the Mahrattas and Shivaji naturally had to be based entirely on such account as was

preserved in the writings of Musalman historians, whose primary object was the writing of the history of the times from the point of view of the Muhammadan rulers, whose history these works attempted to write, either by direct stimulation of the rulers concerned, or even by writers not so directly indebted to the Muhammadan sovereigns of the times. Among this latter class must be mentioned prominently the historian generally known by the name Khafi Khan. It does not require very great penetration to come to the conclusion that writing the history of the Mahrattas from sources like that was bound to be purely one-sided, and very often even inaccurate. The best of these, with the most honest intentions, could write only what came to his knowledge. In the great majority of cases, it could have been only knowledge at second-hand, because these great historians generally resided at court or near, and depended for their information upon various classes of people, and other sources of an indirect character. Some of them may have played a direct part, but such are very few. These sources therefore are to that extent defective, and any life of Shivaji, or even a general history of the Mahrattas, based exclusively upon these sources would certainly be defective.

There have been other sources of information with which these could be corrected. These were generally the records and correspondence of the agents of the various European Companies which had settled in the country for purposes of commerce. These settlements were generally along the coast, and these coast factories had their agents within the country. They got their reports from various of these agents, and communicated them home. Some of these agents happened to be in the locality where many of these historical events actually took place. But generally speaking, even their information was to a great extent second-hand, and to that extent imperfect. In some cases, it may be less imperfect and in other cases more. There is yet another source, the Mahratta source, pure and simple, which has been but partially exploited by even writers of the standing of Duff. Duff had unrivalled opportunities for access to original records even in Mahratti, which exist no more, so that his history must be regarded as utilising the light available from all these sources and the result of his own enquiries in the Mahratta country. But recently there has been such an accumulation of this class of material, which called imperatively for a critical examination of their value, and their fuller utilisation for the purposes of Mahratta history generally and of the life of Shivaji in particular. Any attempt at a biography of the actual founder of the kingdom of the Mahrattas would certainly

be defective, if it were based entirely upon extraneous records, such as the European correspondence, and even the accounts of Musalman historians. A biography of Shivaji therefore must be based essentially upon native sources of information if a biography is to give an account at least in some detail of the various influences that called for action and the motives that gave shape to his movements. Any account of his life based on the other sources alone is bound to be much more defective than even a history of the Mahrattas need be.

Those that formed themselves into the Shivaji-Karyalaya and set themselves up to making an exhaustive collection of material bearing upon the history of the Mahrattas did well to have collected all the sources and brought them together in a handy form for critical use by students of history. That is but doing one part of the work. It would have been a sheer waste of labour to do that alone and leave it there, unless that material were critically examined, fully digested, and actually used to write the life of Shivaji. Any effort in this direction would be better if it could make full use of the Mahratta sources with a proper appreciation of the critical value of the various other sources so far made available, and the writer ought to be a sympathetic student capable of appreciating the points of view of the subject of his biography without being too ready to cavail, or too prone to admire. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya is frankly and confessedly an admirer of Shivaji, and the great work that he had done in the establishment of what is generally called Hindvi Svaraj. He might be regarded as just the kind of man to write a biography. The little book of very near 400 crown octavo pages gives a fairly succinct account of the life of Shivaji, which takes into consideration the material collected by the Shivaji-Karyalaya. The result is a hand book, which gives, more or less, an unvarnished tale of the life and doings of Shivaji. It takes away all the romantic incidents, for which usually later writers were responsible, and, basing itself upon contemporary sources mostly, presents a plain, unvarnished tale. This perhaps makes the work rather fall short of a good biography as yet, but we may say it makes a fairly real approach to what a biography ought to be.

One useful purpose that this work serves is to exhibit that the Shivabharata, a poetical account as it is, is not quite so unhistorical and the Jede chronology, which had been too much condemned as unreliable, is not quite so unworthy of credence. What really was required is a critical use of these sources, and not their condemnation because in regard to certain details, they have shown

themselves to be in error, according to our lights which may as well be wrong. While we do not subscribe to the dictum that contemporary sources are always and necessarily correct, and later sources equally generally not, we may say that this biography is based on contemporary records primarily and excludes rigorously all sources that smack of exaggeration or romance. The biography, of course, loses some of its charm, but in the present condition of criticism respecting the career of Shivaji, perhaps it is just as well that there is that exclusion. But our objection is not because we want romance in history. This rigorous exclusion removes the possibility of our understanding the character for impressionability of the hero, and the kind of influences that impressed him and stimulated him to action in various circumstances. Individuals do not always act upon a mathematical calculation of chances even in statecraft. Many another motive, honest and unworthy, might enter into the transactions of rulers, and exercise a potent influence upon the course of their public activities. While therefore congratulating the learned author upon his achievement, we may well expect him to make an effort to do fuller justice to the subject of his biography than he has yet succeeded in doing. The book is worth reading by those interested in the life of Shivaji, and copies can be had of Messrs. Higginbothams Ltd., Madras, or Bombay Book Depot, Girgaum, Bombay.

LANDLORDISM IN INDIA

By

Divijadas Datta, late of the Bengal Education Service,

(Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay).

Landlordism in India has been a controversial subject practically through the whole of the nineteenth century. The question has been discussed elaborately by Wilks in his History of Mysore written in the early years of that century. Echo of it could be heard in the controversy between the late R. C. Dutt and the Government of India culminating in the issue of the Government communique The Land Revenue Policy of the Government of India by Lord Curzon. In this brochure of less than a 150 pages, Mr. Datta attacks the problem, and points out from quotations from various Hindu authorities and Aini Akbari that in India the land belonged to the cultivator, the so-called zemindar being a modern product and a mere farmer of revenue, the Government

itself not being a proprietor of the land. Mr. Datta contends that the change of attitude is altogether a question of the nineteenth century, the Pitt's India Act itself giving the authority, according to him, for the proprietory right of the ryot, and the unfairness of these rights being allowed to be overriden by that either of the zemindar or of the Government. The question is of a very fundamental character and requires a far more elaborate examination to prove the thesis for the country of the vastness and variety of land tenures, such as India is. There perhaps is no doubt that according to recognised Hindu law, land belongs to the community, and the Government's demand upon land, as in fact Government's demand upon other resources of the subjects, is a return for services rendered, the service of protection. There seems to be a frank recognition of this principle in Hindu law, as well as the existence of society before the state and of the creation of a Government with set objects in view. Want of sufficient recognition of this may account for much of the prevalent poverty of the agriculturist classes but it is hardly necessary to import unnecessary accerbity into the question in the discussion of a really vital and technical problem such as this.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA 800 B. C. A. D. 526.

BY

C. J. SHAH, M.A.,

(Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1932).

The Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay deserves to be congratulated upon the excellent work which it is turning out in the field of Indian History under the able and learned guidance of the Reverend Father H. Heras, S. J. The book under review forms the sixth of the publications under the auspices of that Institute, and is introduced to the public with a brief foreward by the Director of the Institute.

Mr. C. J. Shah, the author of the thesis on the history of Jainism, is well qualified for the task as he himself is a Jaina. The period covered is B. C. 800 to A.D. 526. He has confined himself to the history of that movement in north India and it is well he has limited himself, for adequate justice can hardly be done to the history of Jainism in South India except by a competent student of Tamil literature.

The one merit of Mr. Shah's book is the due acknowledgment of the views of previous writers on the subject whether he agrees with them or not. In this respect the thesis is up-to-date, and the

mode of treatment is historical. In a few places he simply quotes the views of scholars and takes them for granted without examining them for himself in detail. For instance we may draw attention to his view of Candragupta Maurya having died a Jaina by faith. This is a late tradition preserved in works written several centuries after Candragupta's reign. This account has its basis in an inscription at Śravana Belgola (cir A.D. 600) where any amount of careful reading does not bear testimony to the Maurya Candragupta following the *Jaina Sangha* to the far south.

It is beyond the province of a reviewer to give a full list of inaccurate statements in the book. We cannot help referring to one more wrong statement that occurs in the very first page of the Jacket on the book. It is remarked there: 'a detailed history of the non-brahmanical sect of Jainism'. But we have on P. 22 the following. Tracing from the days of Mahāvĭra down to our own times we find that some of the greatest and most prominent figures of the Jaina fold were Brahmans as well. From Indrabhūti down, right to the last Ganadhara of Mahāvĭra, all were Brahmans. Then in later history we have prominent *gurus* and scholars like Siddhasēna and Haribhadra who also were originally Brahmans." In the light of this it would have been better had he avoided the term non-Brahmanical, though the tendency of the teaching is to condemn Brahmanism in regard to several particulars of teaching and practice.

These blemishes, apart, the book reveals much painstaking work on the part of the author in collecting materials and collating them. It is well written, and will prove of considerable value to students of India's religious history, not to speak of her political history.

V. R. D.

THE RISE OF THE PESHWAS.

BY

PROFESSOR H. N. SINHA,

Morris College, Nagpur.

Published by The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1931—*pp.* VIII, XXVIII *and* 255.

This book is intended to be the first volume of a series which will trace the rise, decline and fall of the Peshwas down to the extinction of their rule. Several chapters of the present book had already appeared in the "Journal of Indian History" in the

years 1928-30. It traces the rise of Balaji Vishvanath, gives an estimate of his work, and, after elaborating the struggles and triumphs of Baji Rao, takes us through the regime of Nana Saheb Peishwa (Balaji Baji Rao), the death of Shahu, the coronation of Ram Raja, the failure of Tārā Bai's *coup* and the final triumph of the Peishwa, in 1752, who now-relegated the discredited Chatrapati completely to the back ground. The author has given, in the Introduction, a brief survey of Maratha vicissitudes between the death of Shivaji when the Maratha state was still invertebrate, and the stabilisation of Shahu's authority in spite of the creeping in of predatory propensities and the disappearance, for all practical purposes, of Shivaji's ideals. He points out very clearly that Balaji Vishvanath, the first of the House of the Peishwas, was the first and best servant of the House of the Bhonsles. He laid the foundation of the future Maratha confederate state, reorganised the finances and began the pursuit of an imperial policy. The concept of the *Hindu-Pat Padshahi*, which literally means nothing more than Hindu sovereignty developed, in the course of the 18th century into Hindu imperialism that however degenerated, in practical realisation, into a loose confederacy of semi-independent chiefs, lacking a centralised administrative system. Balaji Vishvanath had no idea of establishing an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, by means of conquest, as sane patriotic historians of Maharashtra attribute to him. He only planned a sphere of influence which could widen with his successors and the increasing decay of Mughal authority. He might have expected the Mughal Empire to quickly fall to pieces; but this did not blur his discretion, nor raise his ambitions. But his son's policy developed and took shape out of his hazy notions, and received an impetus from the impotence of the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah and from the friendliness of the Rajput powers, though the operation of the latter factor has not often been realised in its proper magnitude. It should also be remembered that the Nizam's desire to shelter himself behind the Maratha barrier set the Marathas on the road to Delhi and enabled them to strike at the trunk of the Mughal dominion. The convention of Sironje (more correctly, Durai Sarai) marked the climax of Baji Rao's activities and the fruition of his imperial policy, besides spreading his reputation all over India. The suppression of the Sidis, largely at the instigation of Brahmēndra Svāmi, who was to the Marathas, in this age, what Ramdas was to Shivaji, followed by that of the Angrēs and the capture of Bassein made the Peshwa supreme in the Konkan and completed the groundwork for the foundation of an Empire.

The succession of Balaji Baji Rao is explained by Professor Sinha to have been a necessity on grounds, alike of merit, political expediency and the self-interest of Shahu himself. The question that first demanded the attention of this Peshwa was the succession of Shahu. The part played by Raghoji Bhonsle in this matter is well brought out. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, the editor of "Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar", in his latest book—*The Bhonsles of Nagpur* (1717—1774)—tells us that Raghuji precipitated an open conflict with the Peshwa in 1742, but had always the good sense to avoid an open clash and to co-operate with the latter in furthering the extension and prestige of the Maratha Raj. The Maharaja was largely instrumental in avoiding an open rupture between the two; and this should prove that Shahu was not a mere figurehead in Maratha affairs and the Peshwas were perfectly submissive to his orders. Mr. Sardesai holds that the fact that Shahu's death passed off without a bloody revolution, was mainly due to the good sense of Raghuji who was convinced that the Peshwa alone was capable of handling the critical situation of the succession, and gave his wholehearted support to the latter, inspite of pressure to the contrary from high quarters like Tārā Bai and Damaji Gækwar. He maintains that "this phase of Raghuji's character is disclosed in unmistakable colours by the copious papers here (*Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar No. 20)* presented for the first time. The settlement between the Peshwa and Raghuji Bhonsle was brought about by the mediation of Shahu in the latter part of 1743. Thus, till the death of Shahu, the Peshwa shewed a real deference to royal authority and rendered periodical accounts to him.

Shahu's death and Rama Raja's accession were followed by the bold assumption by the Peshwa, of responsibility and initiative which laid him open to the charge of usurpation. The Peishwa threw Satara into the background and indirectly compelled both Ramaraja and Tara Bai, his guardian, to submit to his wishes. Tārā Bai's intrigues with Dabade, Damaji Gaikwar and the Nizam, were crushed by the Peshwa in 1751; and the latter, afterwards, both ruled and governed. Mr. Sinha's narrative is flowing and detailed and throws, for the non-Marathi knowing reader, light on many an intricate corner of the history of the Marathas in the first half of the 18th century. He is not as decisive, as Kincaid and Parasnis who attribute a large share of the blame for the fall of the house of Shivaji, to its new actions and bickerings.

C. S. S.

HENRY DUNDAS, FIRST VISCOUNT MELVILLE 1742-1811. Political Manager of Scotland, Statesman, Administrator of British India.

BY

HOLDEN FURBER.

Oxford University Press, London Humphrey Milford, 1931—*pp.* XII *and* 331—16|-

Henry Dundas, the right-hand man of William Pitt, the younger, is best known to us as the Minister for India in the long period, 1784-1801, first as the Senior Member and virtual Chairman of the Board of Control, and later as its President when the office was specially created by the Charter Act of 1793. Dundas rose, at a very early age, to be the Lord Advocate of Scotland and became the acknowledged political manager of Government, even under Lord North. His influence in Scotland made him valuable to any Government, since the votes of the Scottish representatives in Parliament counted for so much. He was, by the persistent insistence of Pitt, Home Secretary, and later, Secretary for War, till the resignation of the Ministry early in 1801. His conduct of the war with Revolutionary France has been severely criticised by Sir John Footescue in his 'History of the British Army'; but Dr. Furber thinks, along with Dr. Holland Rose, that the condemnation has been too severe.His severity in enforcing anti-Jacobin laws can only be tempered by the plea that his actions were approved and abetted by such men as Burke and Pitt, and were deemed to be moderate by observers like Lord Cockburn. His impeachment for alleged misappropriation of funds during his Treasurership of the Navy ended in acquittal, and is important only as having been the last of its kind.

It is as Indian Minister that Dundas is most important to us. He suggested, even in the Ministry of Lord North, a rearrangement of the Cabinet which involved the creation of a special Secretary for India and the Plantations (1782). He had already served as Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras and presented the Report of the Secret Committee on the War in the Carnatic (with Mysore). He brought about the passage of the first resolution, praying for the recall of Warren Hastings, and brought in a comprehensive India Bill in April 1783, during the Fox-North Coalition; the bill placed entire responsibility upon

the Governor-General and empowered him to override his council. It was shelved by Fox whose own bills were defeated and superseded by Pitt's Bill of 1784. With the latter bill, Dundas became Secretary for India in all but the name; and he Scotticised the Indian administration to a very large extent. The charge of Scotticisation was brought against him as early as 1787, on the occasion of his nomination of Sir Archibald Campbell in succession to Lord Macartney, to the Governorship of Madras. Dundas' part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings has remained obscure; and Dr. Furber tries to show that though Dundas did all he could, in the first months of his rule at the Board of Control, to bring about the dismissal of Hastings, he held that there was no need for an impeachment and that the Parliamentary Committees of 1781-82 had aimed only at his recall and not at a penal prosecution. He gave but very lukewarm support to the impeachment which greatly dissatisfied Burke. An attempt is also made by Dr. Furber to show that Dundas was not implacably jealous of Hastings, whom, the King intended on one occasion to appoint to the Chairmanship of the Board of Control. It is, however, not possible to gauge aright Dundas' personal feelings towards Hastings, for lack of decisive evidence.

Dundas was enthusiastic over Cornwallis, and was greatly troubled over the settlement of the Nawab of the Carnatic's debts, in which nothing has yet been found to implicate him directly, there being no adequate proof that he was hand-in-glove with the the Macphersons and other creditors. He strove to discourage peculation and plotting, gave the authorities in India the utmost possible freedom and welcomed suggestions for the betterment of Government's Indian policy. He wished that the Board of Control should confine itself only to general supervision, and that India was to be governed in India itself and not in Downing Street or the East India House. He discouraged the London Agents of Indian Princes and insisted that all the latter's negotiations should be carried on through the Government of India. Above all, Dr. Furber shows that he wished "to discourage objectionable nepotism", though he was partial to his own relations and countrymen. He tried to create a party among the Directors, which would support the Board of Control; and he was greatly solicitous about the development of the India and China trade. He was not satisfied with the settlement of the Treaty of Seringapatam but accepted the scheme of Permanent Revenue Settlement. With Cornwallis' advice, he checked his desire for establishing greater control over the Directors when the Charter Act of 1793 came to be passed. When Lord Hobart, Governor of

Madras and Sir John Shore quarrelled, he resolved to send out Cornwallis once more, or to go himself in case of Cornwallis' refusal; but in the sequel Lord Mornington was appointed. His secret despatches to the Governor-General reveal not only his skill in foreign policy and high finance, but also his idea of starting a University at Calcutta, and the building up of a distinct and separate Civil Service.

Dundas' family allowed no one for a long time to examine his papers which were allowed to be broken up only in 1924 and sold at Sotheby's and by Francis Edwards. The former sold the Scottish correspondence to the National Library of Scotland, and the latter bought up the India correspondence and allowed it to be examined. But still scattered portions are not available. Dr. Furber pleads that his work may consequently lack finality in several points. It has used, both extensively and intensively, a large mass of *ms* material; and the book has been furnished with maps showing the growth and decline of the Dundas Interest in the Scottish Parliamentary elections of the period, which was so great that Boswell spoke of our hero, as "Harry the Ninth uncrowned King of Scotland."

C. S. S.

The Round Table

No. 86—March 1932.

The March issue of *The Round Table* covers a wide field; disarmament and reparations, the British tariff and imperial preference, India and China, the troubles of America, Europe and the great overseas Dominions. The first article continues the discussion of the international crisis. In spite of the lull in the storm, trade still remains stagnant. But the financiers themselves paralysed by want of confidence can find no way out of the depression without the assistance of the politicians, whose chief task is, in the words of the Young Plan Committee "the adjustment of all intergovernmental debts (reparations and other war debts) to the existing troubled situation of the world". After an examination of the political situation of Germany, France and the United States, *The Round Table* suggests the only method of approach which seems to it likely to lead to the solution of the problem.

The second article considers the problem of imperial preference in relation to the forthcoming conference at Ottawa, which presents a peculiar opportunity, partly because of the uprush of imperial sentiment in Great Britain, partly because the Dominions, with the acquisation of political autonomy, are questioning more doubtfully than hitherto their economic nationalism. "The purpose of an imperial economic system is to cause trade to flow not less but more freely. We want to exchange more of our products for more of the products of our fellow members of the Commonwealth". That is the keynote of the article. After analysing Great Britain's peculiar economic necessities, the writer goes on to discuss alternative methods of procedure. Should we delay negotiations with the Dominions till we have experienced the effects of a preferential tariff system? Should we enter into binding commercial treaties with the Dominions? Should we attempt to reach a single agreement with all of them, or should we differentiate between them? To these questions the article suggests the answer.

Next comes an article on "China, Japan and Manchuria" analysing the fundamental causes of the conflagration in the Far East—the colonisation policy of Japan in Manchuria, her com-

mercial interests there, the railway controversy. After discussing the situation in Manchuria, the writer explains how the struggle between Japan and China came to spread southward to Shanghai, and discusses the attitude of the League of Nations and the wider aspect of the dispute.

There follows an article describing the results of the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference, and the reasons why these results were so disappointing.

The fifth article is entitled "Reparations in Practice". The vicious economic spiral is "an escalator which must carry us downwards, even though our relative descent is checked, until the movement is definitely reversed". In the restoration of confidence, which is a condition of economic recovery, the settlement of the reparation problem holds a pre-eminent place. The article proceeds to recount by what means Germany has paid reparations, and how precarious was the economic equilibrium that she was building up. But how long can her present unstable condition be prolonged, and what would be the consequences of a German collapse? These are pertinent questions for the politicians.

The next article, "the United States in the New Year", takes up the story from the American standpoint—the disappointment of 1931, the hopes and fears for 1932. The attitude of the American people towards war debts is described, along with the budgetary problem and the plans for financial reconstruction.

A correspondent in India recounts the course of the struggle with Congress. He tells how the no-rent campaign in the United Provinces, the Red Shirt movement on the Frontier, and the outbreak of terrorism in Bengal forced the Government's hand and rendered inevitable the ordinances and arrests. But the Government while maintaining its own authority is, the writer makes clear, proceeding swiftly with the constitutional reforms.

The British article is naturally preoccupied with the tariff policy of the Government and the discussion to which it gave rise in Parliament. But space is found for an impression of the Labour party in Opposition and the other parliamentary groups, and for a brief analysis of the industrial position. The article from the Irish Free State which describes the issues and possibilities of the general election will be read with unusual interest on account of Mr. de Valera's success. The usual economic section deals

this time mainly with the problem of the Shannon scheme. From Canada comes an analysis of her difficult railway problem, which is now being considered by a Royal Commission. The Australian article records the history of the December federal elections resulting in the return of a "national" government with a large majority; it also describes the way in which interest rates have been reduced by legislative action. South Africa sends a careful discussion of the problem of the gold standard, which is now dominating politics in the Union. Finally, the New Zealand contribution describes the policy, including that of financial reform, of the new Coalition Ministry, which received a mandate from the electorate early in December. The echo of our own recent history in the distant Dominions is not the least interesting feature of this series of articles.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Journal Asiatique Tome CCXVIII No. 1—1931.

L. Massiqnon—Le Diwan d'Al-Hallāj, essai de reconstitution, ēdition et traduction.

J. Przyluski—Melanges: Le Bouddhisme tantrique *a* Bali, d'aprēsune publication recente.

Journal Asiatique, Tome CCXIX, No. 1 July—September, 1931.

Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdēnnes by H. S. Nyberg.

Sutrālamkarā et Kalpanāmanditikā (re partie).

Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol. 51—No. 3 (September 1931).

R. G. Kent—The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions.

J. D. Prince—Surviving Turkish Elements in Serbo-Croatian.

G. W. Briggs—The Indian Rhinoceros as a Sacred Animal.

Journal of The American Oriental Society. Vol. 51, No. 4 December 1931.

Hsuan Chuang and the Wei Shih Philosophy by Clarence H. Hamilton (a study of the essential facts concerning the basic intellectual interest of the famous Chinese Pilgrim in his journey to India in search of authentic Buddhist wisdom).

The Divinity of Kings by E. Washburn Hopkins.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies—London Institution. Vol. VI Part 3.

J. Przyluski and G. H. Luce—The number 'A Hundred" in Sino-Tibetan.

S. K. De—Bhagavatism and Sun-worship.

T. N. Dave—Notes on Gujarati Phonology.

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O. G. Von Wesendonk—Zuyasna 51; 20-22.

H. Lūders—Das Zeichen fūr 70 in den Inschriften Von Mathurā ans der Śaka und Kusana-Zeit.

W. Caland—A Note on the Sathapatha—Brahmana.

T. N. Ramachandran—An Inscribed Pillar-carving from Amaravati.

W. Ivanow—A Specimen of Bashgali from Kamdesh (in Kafiristan).

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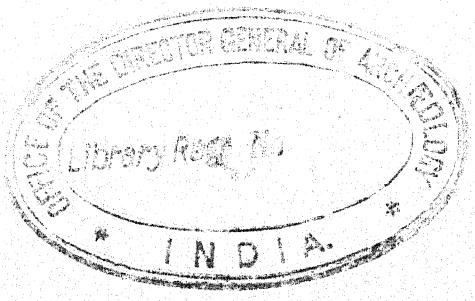
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CORRECTION-SLIP.

Owing to certain difficulties and disabilities, Mr. Abdul Aziz's article on 'History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān' in the last issue (*Journal of Indian History*, XI, i, 86-113) could not be printed with the author's final corrections. As a result, the following correction-slip is issued. The reader is requested to make the necessary alterations in his copy.

1. Page 108 of *J. of I. H.*, XI, i, should be considered cancelled entire; and for it should be bodily substituted the following passage:

LAND REVENUE.

We now proceed to appraise the land revenue of the Mughal empire, taking each successive reign separately.

AKBAR.

One may begin with Abū'l-Faẓl. In the opening passage of the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' in *Ā'ín*, we are told that when the *Jam'-i-dahsāla* (annual revenue calculated on ten years' average) was assessed, *viz.*, in the 25th. regnal year (1580-81 A.C.), the empire was divided into twelve provinces (which are named), the total revenue of which amounted to 3,62,97,55,246 *dāms* (or over 9 crores of rupees) and 12 lacs of betel leaves. (*Ā'ín, I*, 386).

Now we know that the so-called Kabul province (one of the twelve provinces) was only nominally under the emperor at that time, and did not fall in until the death of Mírzā Muḥammad Hakím in 1585. Kashmir was annexed in the following year, while Kandahar came under Mughal sway in 1595. All these territories were included in what afterwards became the Kabul province.—Again, Sind was conquered in 1590-91, and Baluchistan followed suit five years later—both territories being placed together under Multan as 'Tatta'.

So even in 1595, while the number of provinces remained the same, *viz.*, twelve, the revenue of the empire must have increased considerably. Abū'l-Faẓl tells us in the passage already referred

to that the empire in the 40th. regnal year (1595-96 A.C.) comprised 105 *sarkārs* and 2,737 *qaṣbas*,[1] though he gives no revenue total for that year.

Accretion to the empire, however, continued. Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered and organized into three additional provinces early in 1601, bringing the total number of provinces to fifteen.

Now *Ā'ín* was finished in the first quarter of 1598. If nothing was added to the *Ā'ín* gazetteer after that date it is obvious that there could be no mention of these three provinces in that work. But Abū'l-Faẓl not only mentions them in the passage already quoted from, but the statistics relating to the two provinces of Berar and Khandesh (called here Dāndes) are actually included in the gazetteer that follows (I, 387-596). The only possible explanation is that these details were entered and some necessary alterations made here and there some years after the *Ā'ín* was completed, the heading 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' being allowed to stand as if by an oversight. The figures for the Ahmadnagar province are not, however, included—which is inexplicable.

The total given by Abū'l-Faẓl refers, as we have said, to 1580-81. But his Gazetteer is brought down to 1601. Casting up the sums separately given for the various provinces in the body of the Gazetteer, I arrive at a figure close upon 13¼ crores of rupees,[2] to which is probably yet to be added the revenue of the Ahmadnagar province, which is unknown. It is to be assumed that the difference is accounted for by the addition of territory already noted.

1. This word seems to mean here a *maḥal* or *pargana*.

2. I confess the exact revenue of the Kabul province is not easy to ascertain from Abū'l-Faẓl's statistics.

2. In Table on page 113 (end of the article) the second item in the list should have in the 'Date' column '1580-81' instead of '1595-96'; and this second entry should be placed at the top.

Journal of Indian History

A Chēra Royal Poet of the Śangam Period

By

Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar,

Retired High Court Judge, Trivandrum.

Every student of the early history of South India knows that the Chēra kingdom was one of the three prominent Tamil kingdoms in ancient times. Scholars have in recent years attempted to give us, with some measure of success, the ancient history of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms; and in those attempts, they were able to gain much valuable help from the recorded achievements of south Indian epigraphy. The story of the Chēra kingdom still awaits the magic hand, and the constructive genius of the scholar who will be able to weave it from the scanty material that is available. That story is unknown to epigraphy. It has to be gathered only from the old Śangam works, which eminent Tamil scholars like Mahāmahōpādhyaya Pandit V. Swaminātha Aiyar—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—have, by their disinterested, indefatigable and inestimable effort, made it possible for lovers of Tamil to possess. The task of building up that story is manifestly difficult; and it requires a stout heart as well as a knowing head to attempt it; but let us hope that some day we will be able to have a reasonably connected account of the ancient history of the Chēra kingdom.

The eminent position which the land of the Chēra occupied in the Tamil country is patent from the Śangam works. It is clear that its wealth and importance attracted foreign merchants to its ports, where trade on apparently an international scale was carried on. Tāyam Kaṇṇanār of Erukkāttur, a poet of the Śangam

age, referring to Muśiri, the modern Cranganore, writes in a poem included in the Ahanānūṛu collection: "The thriving port of Muśiri, where large and beautiful ships of the *Yavanas* laden with gold come, splashing the white foam, on the waters of the Pēriyār belonging to the Chēra, on the banks of which grow *kōngu* and other trees, and go back laden with pepper." (*Aham* 149) Paraṇar, another Śangam poet of the first rank, writes in one of his poems appearing in the *Puṛa-nānūṛu* collection: "Fish is bartered for paddy. Sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market. The gold received from the ships in exchange for commodities sold is brought to the shore in barges at Muśiri, where the roar of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain to visitors." (*Puṛam.* 343)

If the port of the Chēra king attracted foreign commerce, his court attracted Tamil poets from far and near. A reference to the Śangam classics will show what great patrons of Tamil learning the Chēra kings were, and the countless number of poets who enjoyed their bounty and patronage. Even at the risk of offending the refined ear of the reader with a string of what may be regarded as uncouth names, I shall venture to mention some of the Tamil poets who were the recipients of the Chēra's bounty:—

1. Murañchiyūr Muḍi-nākarāyar,
2. Perum Śāttanār,
3. Kuruṁkōḻiyūr Kiḻār,
4. Poruntil Iḷam Kíranār,
5. Kūḍalūr Kiḻār,
6. Māñkuḍi Marudanār,
7. Muḍa-mōśiyār,
8. Peruñkuṇṛūr Kiḻār,
9. Kuṇḍukaṭ-pāliyādan,
10. Mōsi Kíranār,
11. Pēy-makaḷ Iḷaveyini,
12. Kaḷāttalaiyār,
13. Ōrampōkiyār,
14. Ammūvanār,
15. Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanāṛ,
16. Pālai Gautamanār,
17. Kāppiyāṛṛuk-kāppiyanār
18. Naccheḷḷaiyār,
19. Ariśil-Kiḻār,
20. Auvai,
21. Paraṇar,

22. Kapilar,
23. Nakkírar,
24. Poigaiyār.

The list is not exhaustive; but it is long enough to show how much Tamil literature of the Śangam period owes to the generous patronage it received from Chēra kings. It is a fact of great interest that the well-known *Padiṟṟup-pattu* collection is entirely devoted to the eulogy of the kings of the Chēra country; and another Śangam collection, *Aiñkuṟunūṟu,* was collected at the instance of a Chēra prince, Yānaikkaṭ-Chēy Māntaram-Chēral-Irumpoṟai.

The Chēra kings and princes were not only great patrons of learning; several among them took an honourable place among the Śangam poets as poets themselves. To one of these royal poets, I desire in this short paper to call prominent attention and to pay my humble meed of respectful praise. Chēramān-Peruṁ-Kaḍuṁkō was a ruling king of the Chēra country. Unfortunately, very little is known of this king's history; but there is indisputable evidence afforded by Tamil literature to show that he liberally patronized poets, and that he was himself a poet of the first magnitude. In *Puṟam* 11, a poetess named Pēy-makaḷ Iḷveyini acclaims him as the king of Vañchi, and extols him for his prowess in war and his munificence to poets. There is another poem in the same collection (*Puṟam* 282), which appears in a mutilated form; and so far as I can make out, it is also in praise of this king. He is different from Chēramān Kaḍuṁkō-Vāḻiyādan, about whom the well-known Śangam poet, Kapilar, has sung the 7th decad of the *Padiṟṟup-pattu* collection. This latter king is also known in literature as Chēramān Śelvak-kaḍunkō-Vāḻiyādan; and to differentiate from him the royal poet we are considering, the latter is usually known as Pālaipāḍiya-Chēramān Perum-kaḍuṁkō. The initial descriptive epithet has reference to the fact that this Chēra king is the author of *Pālaik-kali,* the first section of *Kalit-tokai,* which is one of the very best among the Śangam collections. The Aha-nānūṟu collection has also 12 poems by him and *Kuruṁtokai* and *Naṟṟiṇai* contain each 10 by him all dealing with *Pālai.*

Puṟam 11 conveys the information that he was a reigning prince, ruling in Vañchi, where the cool waters of the Porunai flow; and the scholiast, of whom unfortunately nothing is known, explains Vañchi as Karuvūr, and Porunai as Ānporuṇdam. Very learned disquisitions have recently been written by two well-known Tamil scholars of undisputed ability, to establish that

Vañchi is Karūr in the Trichinopoly district; but, in my view, their position, though superficially plausible, cannot be accepted. That Vañchi is Koḍun-kōḷur, of which Tiru-vañchikaḷam is a suburb, has been held as an undisputed axiom by Tamil scholars from the beginning; and the reasoning by which that view has been attempted to be controverted by these two scholars is more bewildering than illuminating or convincing. It is not my purpose here to discuss the question at any length; but I may, nevertheless, state a few relevant facts of outstanding significance.

The close connection of *Śilappadhikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* with the Chēra country and its capital city is well-known; and it is worthy of note that while they speak of Vañchi or Vañchi-mūtūr, they do not mention Karuvūr at all. *Padiṟṟup-pattu,* which is devoted entirely to the praise of the Chēras, does not so much as even mention Karuvūr, while Vañchi-mūtūr occurs. The *Puṟa-nānūṟu* collection, which contains many lyrics in praise of Chēra kings, refers by name to Vañchi in three places; but it does not mention Karuvūr anywhere. Among the *Aha-nānūṟu* collection, 2 poems mention Vañchi, and one mentions Karuvūr; and this is the only instance in ancient poetic literature, so far as the published works of the Śangam age go, of Karuvūr appearing in the text. It is also significant that one of the two poems in this collection where Vañchi is mentioned as the city of the Chēra, is by a poet whose name is given as Karuvūr Kaṇṇampālanār (*Aham* 263). In *Pari-pāḍal,* no mention of Karuvūr is found; but Vañchi occurs, and is described as of equal importance with Madura and Kōḻi (Uṟaiyur). So too, in the *Paṭṭupāṭṭu* collection Vañchi alone occurs and its position in the Chēra kingdom is described to be of the same eminence as Madura in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and Uṟandai in the Chōḻa kingdom. *Kaḷavaḻi-nārpatu* was composed by Pōikaiyār to secure the release of Chēramān Kaṇaikkāl-Irumpoṟai, who had been made a captive by Chōlan Kōccheṅkaṇṇan; and in that poem too, only Vañchi occurs and not Karuvūr. An examination of the Śangam works thus shows that the ancient poets knew the capital city of the Chēra as only Vañchi, and except in one solitary lyric in *Aha-nānūṟu* (*Aham* 93), they have not mentioned Karuvūr at all. Even this solitary instance need not, as Mr. S. Somasundara Bhārati of Madura has pointed out, be regarded as really an exception; for Karuvūr, as it occurs there, may be explained as meaning 'the prominent or impregnable city,' and need not be regarded as a proper noun. That the city which was known to the poets as Vañchi and was celebrated by them under that name was not Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district, also seems to be clear from *Aham* 263, where

Karuvūr Kaṇṇampālanār sings of *Vañchi* as the capital city of the Chēra. Obviously, Vañchi and Karuvūr in Trichinopoly were regarded as two different places; and that derives strong support from another fact we gather from ancient Tamil literature. That the Karuvūr region enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the cock-pit of the Tamil country is patent from ancient works. Kongu-nāḍu was originally under an independent chief; but it afterwards passed into the possession of the rulers of each of the three Tamil kingdoms. *Padiṟṟup-pattu* 22, 88, and 90 show that it once became subject to the Chēras. *Puṟam* 373 shows the territory had been conquered by the Chōlas; and *Aham* 253 shows that the Pandyās had also brought it under their sway. A place in such a region would obviously be ill-suited for the metropolis of a flourishing kingdom like Chēra-nāḍu. *Puṟam* 5 is sung by a poet called Nari-verūut-talaiār, in praise of a Chēra whose name is given as Chēramān Karuvūr-ēṛiya-oḷvāṭ-kōpperum-Chēral-Irumpoṛai. This Chēral Irumpoṛai must have *gone to reign at Karuvūr*, as his name signifies, from some other city which was the metropolis of the Chēra kingdom; and there can be no doubt that that city was Vañchi. Probably, greed for power and territory, or the political exigencies of the period, impelled the ruling Chēra to establish a viceroyalty at Karuvūr, which as a frontier town was, perhaps, coveted as a key position. This Chēral Irumpoṛai, apparently a junior member of the house, went there invested with palatine prerogatives. From that time, some of the Chēral Irumpoṛais of whom we read in literature probably occupied the position of Chēra viceroys of the north, with their seat of government perhaps at Karuvūr; but more likely at Toṇḍi; but the Chēra king himself had his capital at Vañchi and not at Karuvūr. To avoid all possibility of confusion from the use of the expression *Karuvūr* in the *Aha-nānūṛu* lyric already referred to, the early Tamil lexicons, *Piṅgalandai and Śēndan Divākaram*, explain by a separate *sūtra* that Karuvūr denoted Vañchi. That *sūtra* was necessitated because of the occurrence of the unfamiliar or rare word Karuvūr in a classical work; but, perhaps, owing to that very circumstance, later generations in course of time came to regard Karuvūr and Vañchi as alternative names for the same place, little suspecting that it might lead long years afterwards to confusion.

Another fact that we gather from ancient Tamil classics may also be noticed here. Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district is, as every one will admit, in what was known as Kongu-nāḍu and not in Malai-nāḍu. The third decad of *Padiṟṟup-pattu* is written by

Pālai Gautamanār, a well known Śangam poet, in honour of Palyānaic-chel-keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, the younger brother of Imayavaramban-Neḍum-Chēralādan, father of Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan; and one of the poems in that section (P. 22) tells us that the hero of that decad effected the conquest of Kongu-nāḍu. Obviously then Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district could not have been the original capital of the Chēras; for the Chēras, as we know from literature, had already, before the conquest of Kongu-nāḍu, established their fame and power as a ruling dynasty in the Tamil country. Again, we gather from *Aham* 209 that Kāri, the chief of Muḷḷūr, slew Ōri, the chief of Kolli-malai, and delivered it to the Chēra, who may be taken to be a successor of either Chēramān Kuḍakkō Neḍuṁ-Chēralātan or Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan, both of whom were contemporaries of the poet Paraṇar (Puṛam 63, 369, P. P. 5th decad); who in *Aham* 208 and in *Naṛṛinai* 6 and 265 refers to Ōri as still lord of the Kolli mountains. These circumstances will show that Kongu-nāḍu and the adjacent region did not belong to the Chēras originally, but they were acquired by them only later. All this clearly indicates that the capital of the Chēra kingdom, Vañchi-mūtūr, lay elsewhere than in Karuvūr situate in Kongu-nāḍu.

Though Vañchi and Karuvūr had come to be regarded as convertible terms, it did not, however, mean that in the conception of the Tamil literary world the capital of the Chēra kingdom was not Vañchi in Malai-nāḍu, but Karuvūr in Kongu-nāḍu. The commentators, who came several centuries after the Śangam period, when they explained Vañchi as Karuvūr, took care also to state that it was not the Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district. Thus, Aḍiyārkku-nallār tells us that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr; and Mahāmahōpādhyaya V. Swaminātha Aiyar, to whom all lovers of ancient Tamil literature owe an immense debt of endless gratitude, writes the warning note that Karuvūr, the capital of the Chēra, is the city in Malai-nāḍu and not the Karuvūr situated in Kongu-nāḍu (Maṇimēkalai pp. 190-1,376). Śēkkiḻār, the author of *Periya-purāṇam*, states clearly that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr, and that Karuvūr in Kongu-nāḍu is a town of the Chōlas. The inscriptions found in the latter place are all Chōla inscriptions; and there is nothing in them, or anywhere in literature that I know, which attributes its origin and rise to the Chēras. When Tirujnāna-Sambandha sang a hymn in praise of this place, he called it *Karuvūrānilai*, obviously to distinguish it from Karuvūr or Vañchi of the Chēras in the west coast (Vide his hymn ஒற்ற ஒடலரவன்). Modern Tamil lexicons, e.g., *Abidhāna-chintāmaṇi*,

explain that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr, near Cochin. It is the place that Sundaramūrti has in his *'Tiru-anjaik-kaḷam'* hymn, described in the following words:—

மலைக்குலைகொழிப்பன வன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றி முழங்கி
வலம்புரிகொண்
டலைக்குங்கடலங் கரைமேன் மகோதை யணியார்
பொழிலஞ்சைக்களம்.

Makōdai or Muśiri is the sea-port in the delta of the Periyār, and is a part of the ancient royal city of Koḍunkōḷūr, of which Tiruvañchik-kaḷam in the centre formed the royal residence. It is a fact of history that the ancient town of Koḍunkōlūr extended from the bar at the coast to Tṛkaṇā-matilakam, about four miles inland north-eastward, once the seat of a famous Śaiva shrine, now unfortunately destroyed, to which the temple at Guruvāyūr and other places were once subordinate. Another name for Tṛkaṇā-matilakam was Guṇapuri or Guṇakā, apparently the Guṇavāyil of *Śilappadhikāram.* It is interesting to note that immediately to the north of Cranganore (the modern anglicized name for Koḍunkōḷūr) and forming its approach from the back-water leading to Ernakulam, is a place bearing the significant name of Karūr-paṭana or, as it is more generally called, Karur-paṭanam. It stands on a hill, and it is only about four miles north of Tiruvanjik-kaḷam.

In *Śilappadhikāram,* we read that Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan left Vañchi-muṟṟam to go to the forests. It will be seen that Vañchi-muṟṟam and Vañji-kaḷam have the same meaning. It has, however, been objected to the identification of Vañci with Tiru-Vanji-kaḷam that the name of the latter place is properly *Añjaik-kaḷam* (அஞ்சைக்களம்) as that is the name which it bears in Sundarar's hymn. No doubt, in Tamil Śāivite literature, *Tiruvanjai-kaḷam* is the consecrated name for the place; but I cannot regard this difference in spelling as a serious objection. Place names often change in form, owing to various reasons; and the change here by no means presents an insurmountable obstacle. In two *vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscriptions found in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāñji-kalam, the name is written as *Tiruvañja-kaḷam* (திருவஞ்சக்களம்). By a pardonable mistake Va (வ) may have been regarded as A (அ) transformed owing to rules of *sandhi,* and I (இ) changed into Ai (ஐ) innocently in pronunciation, or from false analogy. We know that there is a tendency for Tamil place-names to end in Ai (ஐ) cf. Uṟandai, Karandai, Tanjai, Nellai, Anantai.

Thus Tiruvañji-kaḷam may have in course of time been unconsciously changed into *Tiruvañjai-kaḷam;* but however that be, the objection appears to me to be too trivial for serious consideration. It may also be noted that in the inscriptions found in the Śiva temple at this place, the name of deity is given as Vañjuḷēśa (vide 6 Trav. Arch. series pp. 191-2).

For some reason, which at this distance of time it is not possible to ascertain, Vañji, the ancient capital of the Chēras also came to bear an alternative name Karuvūr; but as stated above it misled no Tamilian into believing that the Karuvūr was the town of that name in the Trichinopoly district. The alternative name of Karuvūr for Vañji seems to have been known from the first century of Christian era; for Ptolemy (*circa* 150 A.C.) mentions Karoura as 'the royal seat of Kerobothras'. Bishop Caldwell, influenced by the similarity of names, suggested the identification of Ptolemy's Karoura with "Karur, an important town in the Coimbatore district, originally included in the Chēra kingdom" (Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages); and this wrong lead, which the learned bishop unwittingly gave, has now been followed by some scholars with what I am compelled to regard as misdirected zest and misapplied learning. Possibly when he suggested the identification, Dr. Caldwell had momentarily forgotten that Pliny in his *Natural History* (before 77 A.C.) had mentioned Muzuris as the capital of the Chēras. After stating that 'Muzuris' was "the first emporium of India", he said: "The station for ships is at a distance from the shore, and cargoes have to be landed and shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this, Coelobothros". A few years after Pliny, the Periplus (*Circa* 89 A.C.) contained the statement that 'Mouziris', "a city at the height of prosperity", was "two miles distant from the mouth of the river on which it is situated" and was "the seat of Government of the kingdom under the sway of Kerobotras." From the language of the classical writers, there can be no doubt that the two places, Karoura and Mousiris, were not regarded as essentially different. Karoura of Ptolemy denoted the interior, where the Chēra's palace was, the present Tiruvañji-kaḷam, while Muzuris denoted Musiri or Makōtai, the commercial mart or port, about a mile and half lower down, at the mouth of the Periyar-the Pēriyāṟu of *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* 28, 43,,88, *Aham* 149, Śilap, etc.—or the Pseudostomos of the Greek writers. The same idea is conveyed by *Puṟam* 343 which describes Muziri as the place where the Chēra presents the produce of the sea and the mountains to those that visit him.

If Vañji is Koḍunkōḷūr or Tiruvañjik-kaḷam, it must follow that the river Porunai or Ān-poruntam could not be the river Āmrāvati, but should be the Periyār which falls into the sea on the southern side of Koḍunkōḷūr. Kōṭṭai-mukku, which is the site of an old fort at the north-eastern corner of Cranganore, is washed by the river Periyār on the south. The river is mentioned and described in *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* as the most important of the rivers in the Chēra kingdom. The following citations show that Vañji is on the bank of the Porunai river:—

தண்பொருனைப் புனற்பாயும்
விண்பொரு புகழ் விறல்வஞ்சி. *Puṟam* 11

வஞ்சிப்புறமதிலலைக்குங்
கல்லென் பொருநை. *Puṟam* 387

தண்பொருனை சூழ்தருஞ் வஞ்சி *Śilap canto* 29

Porunai is apparently the Tamil variant of *parṇi* in Tāmra-parṇi, for which river it is the recognised name in classical Tamil; and, according to the lexicons, an alternative name for *Porunai* is *Porundam*. Thus

பொருநை தண்பொருந்தம் *Pingalantai & Divākaram*
பன்னியபொருனையின்பேர் பகர்ந்த தண்பொருந்தந்தானே. *Chūḍamani*

Tāmra-parṇi is, as is well known, a river of the Pāṇḍya kingdom flowing east-ward; and obviously to distinguish the Porunai of the Chēra country from the Porunai of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the prefix Ān (ஆன்) was sometimes added to the former. Thus we have

தண்ணான்பொருனை வெண்மணல் சிதைய *Puṟam* 36
தண்ணான்பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே *Aham* 93

These are the only two instances in old literature that I have come across, where the prefix appears. It has been suggested that in these lines Ān (ஆன்) is, perhaps, a mistake for Ār (ஆர்) ; but it is, I think, a needles suggestion. The ancients may have thought that both the Tāmra-parṇi and the Periyār had the same source; and indeed, their sources are not far distant from each other. The former rises in Agastya-malai and the latter in Aḷitai-malai (அழிதைமலை), most probably the (அயிரைமலை) of the Śangam works, both in the Alpine chain of the peninsula, separating the Tinnevelly district from Travancore"; and both rivers came to bear the same name, Porunai from the proximity of their sources; but to distinguish one from the other, the particle Ān (ஆன்) was prefixed to the river in the west. Ān denotes Vṛṣabha; and Ān-porunai would mean the *porunai* that is in flood in the month of Vṛṣabha or Vaikāsi. Both *Piṅgalandai*

and *Divākaram* mention a river *Ānporundam,* besides Porunai or Porundam. I may state here that Lakṣmi Dāsa in his *Śukasandēśa*. (C 1000 A.C.) describes the river flowing near the *rājaḍāni* 'Mahōdayapuri' as 'the sister of the Tāmra-parṇi.' After the manner of Kāḷidāsa, Lakṣmi Dāsa employs a parrot as messenger to take his message to his wife at Tṛkanā Matilakam or Guṇapuri. The expression occuring in the poem is शोदरी ताम्रपरण्यां श्रूणीं In this expression, I am inclined to think that *Chūrni* is a mislection for *Pūrṇi, Pūrṇā;* for written in grantha characters, one may easily be mistaken for the other. I also learn that in *Śankara Vijaya,* wrongly attributed to Vidyāraṇya, Kāḷaḍi, the birth place of Śrí Śankara, is said to be situate on the banks of the Pūrṇa river. This work, I am convinced, is spurious, being not more than a century old; but I refer to it only to show that in a Sanskrit work written very long before the present controversy arose, the Periyār bears the name Pūrṇā.

Accepting *Ānporunai* or *Ānporundam* as an approved literary name for the river on which Vañji is situate, we have still no warrant for taking those names to denote the Āmrāvati river. The name *Āmrāvati* is unknown to the Śangam poets, lexicographers, or the commentators. It is said that in *Karuvūr-Sthala Purāṇam,* a recent work by a comparatively unknown author, the following line occurs:

பொற்புமலியாம் பிரவதியான் பொருனையெனவும் புகலுவாரால் :

and on this casual statement found in a work of fancy or imagination, is rested the momentous conclusion that Ānporunai is Āmrāvati! Another reason given is that Ambiram (ஆம்பிரம்) means the mango tree; and as the Pingalandai gives Chūta-nadi (சூதநதி) as a name for Ānporundam, and as Chūtam (சூதம்) also means the mango tree, Āmrāvati and Ānporunai are identical! I may add in passing that *Divākaram* does not mention Chūta-nadi (சூதநதி) as one of the names of Ānporuntam. All the lexicons-*Pingalandai, Divākaram* and *Chūḍāmaṇi* agree in mentioning *Āni-vāni* or *Vāni* as a name for Ānporuntam; and Vāni is a western river belonging to the Chēra (P. P. 86), which, it is admitted, cannot be the Āmrāvati.

As a result of this short discussion, we may hold that Pālaipāḍia Chēramān Perum-Kaḍuñko reigned at Vañji or Tiruvañjikkaḷam or Koḍunkōḷūr, which is on the Periyār river. His date cannnot be accurately fixed; but some approximations may be reached. He was anterior in date to Māṇikkavāsakar, as a comparison of *Kuṟum-tokai* 37 with *Tiruk-kōvaiyār* 276 will show;

and I have placed Māṇikkavāsakar in the third or fourth century A.C. (I. Tamilan Antiquary No. 4). It is an established literary tradition that Nal-Anduvanār of Madura, who wrote *Neydal-kali,* was also the compiler of the collection that goes by the name of *Kalit-tokai,* and contributed the initial invocatory poem to it. This poet is mentioned by Marudan-Iḷa-Nākaṇār in *Aham* 59, which speaks of Tiru-paraṇ-kuṇram as the hill which has been sung about by Anduvan; the reference being to *Pari-pāḍal,* 8. Marudan-Iḷa-nākanār has sung about Pāṇḍyan Ilavandikaip-paḷḷittuñjiya Nan-Māran (*Puṛam* 55). This Pāṇḍya has also been sung about by Nakkíranār, son of Kaṇakkāyanār of Madura (*Puṛam* 56); and the language of the poem shows that the king and the poet were contemporaries. Nak-kíranār has celebrated in song Neduñjeḷian, the hero of Talai-ālaṁkānam in *Aham* 36 and in *Neḍunalvāḍai.* Paraṇar has also sung in praise of this monarch (*Aham* 116; 162), and is also the author of the fifth section of *Padiṛṛup-pattu* in praise of Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan of *Śilappadhikāram* fame, who rewarded him handsomely. I have on previous occasions discussed in detail the probable date of *Śilappadhikāram* and Śeṁkuṭṭuvan, and have tried to establish that the date should be sought in the second century of the Christian era (1 I.H.Q. pp. 473 ff, 643 ff). We may therefore conclude that Pālai-pāḍiya Perum-Kaḍunkō, who should be placed earlier than Nal-Anduvanār, belonged, perhaps, to the first century A. C. From the prefix *perum* to the name, it will not be amiss if we hold that this royal poet was anterior in date to Chēramān Kaḍunkō-Vāḷiyādan, whom Kapilar, the friend of Paraṇar, has celebrated in *Padiṛṛup-pattu* 7.

The provisional date here suggested for Chēramān Perum Kaḍunkō may be supported by another line of reasoning. It can be gathered from *Naṛṛiṇai* 391 that this Chēra king was a contemporary of Koñkānaṭṭu Nannan, a well-known chief and patron of learning, about whom several Śangam poets have sung. This Nannan had annexed to his dominion some portions of the Chēra kingdom; and the Chēra king, Kaḷankāyk-kaṇṇi Nār-muḍic-Chēral, slew him in battle at Perumtuṛai and recovered his lost territory (*Aham* 199; *Padiṛṛup-pattu* IV). Kaḷankāyk-kaṇṇi was a son of Imayavaramban Chēralādan and consanguine brother of Śēran Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan (*Padiṛṛup-pattu* IV and V). It follows that Perum-Kaḍunkō must have been anterior in date to Kaḷankāyk-Kaṇṇi, and his successor, Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan, who were both reigning Śēras; and as Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan is placed in the 2nd century A.C., Perum-Kaḍunkō may well be placed in the latter half of the 1st century A.C.

The eminence of *Kalit-tokai* among the Śangam classics is attested by its description, *Kali* which is praised by scholars (கற்றறிந்தார் ஏத்துங்கலி) occurring in the old *veṇbā* that enumerated the eight Śangam collections known as *eṭṭu-tokai*. A later Tamil poet, in his admiration for the poetic excellence of *Kalit-tokai*, goes so far as to say that he prizes it as higher than Tiru-Takka Dēvar's *Jīvaka-Chintāmani*, Kambar's *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Tiruk-kuṛal* and *Perunkadai!* This may be exaggerated praise; but there can be no doubt whatever that, judged by any standard of poetic excellence, the poems of *Kalit-tokai* are, in point of lyric form and passion, beauty of sentiment and felicity of expression, among the best in ancient Tamil literature.

The poems of *Kalit-tokai* are regarded as classical illustrations of what is known to Tamil students as *ahat-tiṇai*. In ancient days, Tamil society seems to have regarded love and war as practically embracing the entire field of human pursuit and activity; and these two supplied the two categories of *poruḷ* or poetic material. Tamil rhetoricians call these two categories *aham* and *puṛam;* and it is interesting to note that this classification is as old as the *Tolkāppiyam* itself, which gives a detailed account of their grammar. *Aham* denotes internal or subjective state; and it relates to the moods and fancies, feelings, sentiments and passions of lovers placed in diverse circumstances and situations. *Puṛam* denotes external or objective pursuits; and it treats of outside relations, principally war, and embraces within its scope the treatment of the political organisation of the Tamil people, and the rules and conventions regulating the mutual relations of the chiefs of the Tamil land. Five regional varieties are postulated and described by Tamil rhetoricians; and these are *Pālai* or desert region, *Kuriñji* or mountain region, *Mullai* or forest region, *Marudam* or arable country and *Neydāl* or seaboard region. Each of these regions has its distinctive features, natural and also conventional, and is peopled by its own stratum of society, differing in occupation and the level of social and economic culture or development from the people of other regions; and each has its own presiding deity. Thus, suitably to its desert character, *Pālai* has for its deity Durgā and the burning sun; its inhabitants are robbers and highwaymen, the animals of the region are worn-out elephants, tigers and wolves, and the appropriate birds are vultures. The deity of *Kuriñji* is Muruka or Subrahmanya; its people are Kuravars, who gather honey and live on roots and millet and on game; among its animals are elephants, lions, tigers, bears and boars, and its birds, the parrot and the peacock. The presiding

deity of Mullai is Māyōn or Kṛṣṇa. Its inhabitants are Iḍaiyar, who are neatherds and shepherds, and are also lower agricultural people living on cereals other than rice, their pastime being playing on pipes; its animals include the hare and the deer, and its birds the peacock and the wild fowl. The appropriate deity of Marudam is Indra. Its inhabitants are Uḻavar, who cultivate paddy for food; they are pure agriculturists. The characteristic animal of the region is the buffalo, and its birds are the stork, the duck and the water fowl. Varuṇa is the deity of Neydal; the inhabitants of the region known as Paradar or Nuḻaiyar, are fisher folk, who live by fishing and manufacturing salt. Shortly then, we may say that the Tamil country was, according to the evidence supplied by early Tamil literature, peopled by five occupational classes, each class being appropriate to one specific region; and these we may term pure agriculturists, fisher folk, pastural people and cattle keepers, hunters and robbers.

Kalit-tokai consists of five sections, each by a different author. Each section is exclusively concerned with the distinctive motif of married life accepted as appropriate to the specific region of which it treats. Of the fourfold objects of life, *Aham* is concerned with *Kāma* or, as it is called in Tamil, *Inbam*. It is concerned with enjoyment or pleasure, especially the pleasure of conjugal life. Obviously, the vicissitudes to which life is subject must depend considerably on the physical conditions of the region and the occupation and general mode of life of its inhabitants; and poetic convention in Tamil has prescribed a distinctive motif for the love poetry of each of the five regions, in accordance with its distinctive physical and social character. According to Tamil poetics, the appropriate motif of *Pālai* amatory poetry is *pirital* or separation; and the lyrics of *Pālaik-kali*, accordingly, describe the effect on the wife when the husband proposes to go to distant lands across an intervening desert, in quest of wealth. The married couple do not belong to *pālai-nilam*, but may belong to any of the four other regions. It is the prospect of separation and of the journey through a desert that supplies the poet with appropriate material for *pālai* amatory poetry. *Pālai* is, for that reason regarded as common to the other four regions; and possibly for the same reason, Tol-kāppiyar in his enumeration of the *nilams* omits *pālai*. The *pālai* section of *Kalittokai* is by Chēramān Perum-Kaḍunkō; and it consists of 35 lyrics of finished artistic beauty of form, charm of expression and richness of poetic imagery. They are faceted gems fashioned by a master. The artist is equally skilled in describing the awful desolation of the desert with its

harrowing scenes of anguish, and the moving tenderness of the loving Dravidian wife, whom the very thought of a possible separation from her husband fills with agony; and between these two extremes of horror and love, the poet sounds a range of passion tones with marvellous skill and subtlety. The poems form lovely cameos of the Tamil wife's invincible attachment to her husband, even though he may, as he occasionally appears to be, stone-hearted, and the Tamil maid's staunch loyalty to her mistress; and as illustrations of married life in ancient Tamil society, they are of great human interest. I append English echoes of the first ten poems of *Pālaik-kali*, in the hope that, perchance, some of my readers will thereby be attracted to the study, not only of this section but of the other sections also of *Kalit-tokai*, of which a very valuable and scholarly edition has been published by Brahmasri Pandit Anantarāma Aiyar, retired Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, whose recent death will be deeply mourned as a great loss to sound Tamil scholarship.

Specimens from Pālaik-kali.

Palai 1.

As blazed the wrath of Śiva, when to save
Ayan[1] and other gods, who sought His aid,
He smote the dreaded, troublous Rākṣāsas,
And their destructive triple fortress laid
In utter ruin, with like fierceness burns
The sun, whose heat intense beats on the rocks,
And bursting them, with wreckage blocks the way
In that vast desert! And in quest of wealth
That fearful region dost thou now propose
To cross, forsaking e'en thy loving wife,
Whose constant thought is but of thee, and who,
If thou shouldst leave her, would give up her life!

When those who once had wealth beseech thy help,
It may vexation cause to thee to lack
The needed means; and so, belike, thou dost
Desire to cross the mountain, seeking wealth.
What value has that wealth when it is weighed
Against the bliss thou sharest with thy wife,
To whom thy separation will bring death?

1. Brahma, the creator of the Hindu Trinity.

To fail to help the needy who implore
Thy aid is mean and unbeseeming; so
Thou wouldst go forth beyond the hills in search
Of riches. But what are they worth, compared
To the true happiness thy presence gives?
Thy wife did marry thee, regarding thee
As the reward deserved by her good deeds,
And trusted thou wouldst never her desert.

If one not having sufficient to meet
His want entreats thy help, and thou shouldst be
Unable to assist him, thou wouldst feel
Distressed; and so thou wouldst the desert cross,
Pursuing wealth. What is it worth, compared
With the felicitous companionship
Of thy true wife, who like Arundhati[2]
Is honoured as incarnate chastity?

When I with him expostulated thus
And urged he should not prefer wealth to thee,
If thee he truly loved, thy spouse, behold!
E'en as the strong male leader-elephant
Yields to the *yāl's*[3] soft, persuasive strains,
Though unsubmissive to the mahout's goad,
Submitted to thy humble servant's plea,
And has his contemplated journey stopped!.

Palai 2.

Thou art intent on leaving; dost thou know
The wretchedness felt by thy faithful wife?
Her heartless neighbours' gossip fills her mind
With pain and shame. She dreads the very thought
Of thy great agony when thou dost cross
The desert vast. The bracelets which she wore
Have slipped from off her wrists. Her welling tears
Her eyelids are too powerless to hold.
The fever of her burning love hath wrought

2. The chaste wife of Vasishta. She is held as the ideal chaste wife and is given a place near her husband in Great Bear.

3. A Tamil stringed musical instrument somewhat like the Vīna of modern times. Editor.

Great havoc to her shapely face and limbs.
Her conquering beauty's gone. And yet thou wouldst
Insist on going! May I say a word?

My imploration thou with disregard
Hast treated. Know, thou art her very life,
And thy departure hence will mean her death!
If my poor words avail not against thy will,
From flowers shrunk, that withered with their stalks
When ponds upon thy path ran dry, learn thou
That with thy spouse her kinsfolk too will die!

Take head, if thou dost leave, her beauteous form
And features will for certain wear away.
Slight not my words; for, if she die, learn thou
E'en from the sight of withered flowering vines
That lost their life when shrunk the trunks of trees
To which they clung, her kinsfolk too will die!

I do entreat thee not to leave thy spouse.
Forsake her not, just after this short spell
Of married bliss, if thou wouldst have her live.
Wouldst thou still go? O! May the tender leaves
And branches, that have shared the hapless fate
Of withered trees that block thy path, convey
The truth to thee, that all her kinsfolk too
Will breathe their last when she doth pass away.

Thou wouldst not harken to my remonstrance?
O! May the terrors of the desert wild
Like true relations who will dare set right
When one goes wrong, prevent thy going hence!

Palai 3.

My mistress knows thou dost, with spear in hand,
Forsaking her, intend in search of wealth
To cross the desert wild, where robbers prowl,
Strong-limbed and fierce, with curly shag and eyes
Like tigers, shooting down with deadly shafts
Poor travellers, whose tortured agony,
From sight of which e'en vultures keep away,
They view with callous hearts and joy malign.

She thus complains: "My spouse not satisfied
With long embrace of me, on whose young breast
The shining pearl-strings nestling lie, will toy
And dally with my hair, which he will plait!
I fail to comprehend his present mind.

"My lover, when he sees my ornaments
Have by his warm embrace been disarranged,
Will place them right, repeating all the while,
The ceaseless-flowing nectar from my teeth,
Like pointed thorns or blades of reed-grass, sharp,
Gives more exhilaration than one gets
From toddy. How his present mind is changed!

"My husband will with love-filled eyes regard
My shapely, gold-hued breasts, when me he clasps
In fond embrace; and not content, the beads
Of perspiration from my forehead fair
He will himself remove! His present mind
I fail entirely to appreciate."

The happy married life you two enjoyed
Made her expect fresh tokens of thy love,
And never led her to anticipate
Such separation as thou dost intend.
The very thought of it has filled her mind
With torture. Shouldst thou even for a day
Desert my mistress, she would not survive!

Palai 4.

To the bewilderment of robbers vile,
Large-eared, huge-jawed and ruttish elephants
In herds obliterate the desert track.
If thou didst know thy wife is worth to thee
Far more than aught beyond the desert wild
Thou dost intend to seek, small need were there
To tell thee, that like seamen in a gale,
Which has their ship destroyed, she would be plunged
In mute despair. What further can I say?
When such her plight, the planets and the stars
Themselves will thy departure hence prevent.

Like to a scene of noisy festival,
Which after all the gaiety is o'er,
Though it deserted looks, does still not cease

To be, dost thou expect thy wife can bear
To continue to live when thou hast left?

Like to a country that has been laid waste,
Which fills its ruler's mind with pain and grief,
But still continues to exist, will she,
Her face bereft of all its loveliness,
Retain her life, when thou hast gone away?

Like lotus blooms which, though the tank wherein
They grow runs dry o'er-night, fade not at once,
But still continue fresh, dost thou believe
She will remain alive when thou hast left?

O gracious sir! Know this for very sooth!
The day thou leavest her and dost proceed
Towards the desert in thy quest of wealth,
That day will she give up her precious life!

Palai 5.

Thou tellest me the desert is so parched
For want of rain, the wild and roving deer
On prickly cactus plant is forced to feed;
And by the shafts of heartless robbers pierced,
Wayfares in that arid region lie
Writhing with thirst, which they attempt to slake
With tears that trickle to their dried-up tongue!
If 'tis thy notion this would frighten me,
Thou dost not know my nature. 'Tis not meet
Thou shouldst our bond thus disregard and go!
To be with thee and, in thy journey, share
With thee the perils of the desert track,
Know that alone can give me happiness!

Palai 6.

May I, fair sir, a simple question ask?
Thou wantest now to go in search of wealth
To foreign lands, beyond the desert wild,
Where, scorched by summer heat, the elephants
With bodies shrunk and thirst unquenched, pursue,
Mistaking it for water, the mirage!
Knowest thou how my mistress feels, while thou
Dost preparations make to go abroad?

While thou, the bow-string tightening, dost test
Its tautness with thy fingers, know from me,
Across her shining face dim sorrow spreads
As does a dark cloud o'er the faultless moon!

While thou thy belt dost gird and careful fill
With arrows sharp thy quiver, know from me,
Her tears the lids with black cosmetic lined
O'erflow, like pouring rain from out the cup
Of water lilies, slender stalked and blue!

While thou unfeeling, caring but for wealth,
Thy trusty shield dost burnish, know from me,
The shining bangles her round wrists desert,
As falls the pollen from bright-petalled flowers!

Know, if thou dost depart, her life will cease!

The wealth thou bringest home from distant lands
May bring thee pleasure. Will it also bring
Thy dear departed wife to life again?

Palai 7.

Like to a king who by a minister bad,
Unsympathetic and unjust, is led,
The scorching sun with fiery rays doth beat
Upon the desert sands. 'Must' elephants,
The fragrant discharge from whose foreheads once
Attracted swarms of buzzling beetles, now
Deformed and shrunk, lie prone upon the ground,
Their legs outspread, their tusks thrust in the sand,
Like ploughs in dry, hard ground. From heated rocks
Spread scorching waves that render all attempts
To cross the desert futile. And these sands
Thou wouldst now cross without informing us!
A word I have to say; wilt thou hear me?

The seven stringed *yāḻ* when with the fingers played
Yields music sweet. The strings may snap; and then
The instrument is useless! Wealth is more
Unstable than the *yāḻ*. Will, then, the wise
Desire to seek such ephemeral wealth?

The fickle goddess Fortune oft forsakes
Her one-time favourites, e'en making them
Objects of ridicule. More fickle far
Than she is wealth. Will wise men seek it, then?

The minister who in the sunshine basks
Of royal favour, working still with zeal
But for his master's good, without regard
For his own benefit, doth sudden fall
Under displeasure, and he loses all!
Wealth is inconstant more than royal grace.
Will wise men, then, desire to seek such wealth?

Do not desire this fleeting wealth, my lord!
Thy journey drop; it will be for thy good.
Honour thy guests: enjoy domestic bliss;
Thy home make happy. There lies lasting wealth.

Palai 8.

"Hail, holy Brahman sage! And hail ye all,
Holy disciples with *Kamaṇḍalam*[1]
And trident symbolizing unity
Of the Trmūrtis![2] Ye who 'neath the shade
Of umbrellas traverse these burning sands,
Have ye in this wild region seen a pair,
My daughter and another woman's son,
Who from their homes, their union clandestine
Becoming known, have to the desert fled?"

"Not that we have not seen them. We have seen
The pair, and hold their conduct right. Art thou
The mother of the fair young lady, decked
With jewels bright, who chose accompany
Her lover of manly virtue through the sands?

"The fragrant sandal, though on mountain born,
Has value but to those who use its paste;
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

1. The water-pot in sling or otherwise carried by hermits.
2. The Holy Triad, the Creator, the Protector and the Destroyer. Editor.

"The precious, shining pearls, though ocean-born,
Are useful but to persons wearing them;
But to their native ocean, of what use?
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

"The music sweet the seven stringed *yāḻ* doth yield
Gives pleasure to the singer, but the *yāḻ*
Does it from music any joy derive?
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

"O! Worry not thyself on her account.
The chaste young maid has with her lover gone,
Who dearer than her parents is to her.
No higher merit for a loving pair
Exists than constancy. That helps, besides,
To keep the two inseparate in heaven."

Palai 9.

Like the youth of the poor, with branches all shrunk,
Like the wealth of the miser, no shelter affording,
Like the wicked, unhonoured, deserted while dying,
Stand withered to the root the bare trees, sore stricken
By the fierce heat of the burning sun in the desert!
Like a land where the ministers fleece without scruple
And grind without mercy the people who groan
Under crushing misrule, is that desolate region!

If she but hears thou dost intend to cross
The desert in thy quest for wealth, her heart
Will on the instant break, and from her eyes
The light of life will flee. Dost thou not know
She could not even bear if thou by chance
Shouldst slip from her embrace, when of a night
Ye slept together, but would moan in pain?

Wilt thou unfeeling go, on gain intent?
If she but hears it, will her eyelids close
In sleep? With tears her eyes will be surcharged
Knowest thou not if thou shouldst keep away
A tiny moment just in sport, her tears
Will spoil the radiant beauty of her face?

If she but hears thou dost in quest of pelf
Mean to depart, thy wife whose radiant form
Is matchless, will in grief be plunged. Dost thou
Not know if for a while thy loving eyes
Light not on her, what misery she feels?

Glad tidings, my lady of beauty bewitching!
I warned him if for pelf he from you did depart,
You would part with your life; and your lord, so illustrious,
In whose hands shines the spear, did relinquish at once
His journey. So now, wear your bracelets again!

Palai 10.

Munificent in deeds of charity,
Valiant in war, destroying all his foes,
My spouse, so tender in his love to me,
Has gone abroad in search of wealth; but, hark!
I am premonished he will soon return.

He said: "My beauteous love! the scorching sand
Is like the fire too hot for feet to tread!
And in that desert, at the scanty pool,
By restless calves made turbid, waits the bull
That the cow elephant may drink there first!"
Did he not when he started, tell us so?

And he said too: "With leaves all withered, dry,
The desert is a dreadful waste, devoid
Of aught that brings least pleasure to the sense!
And in that desert, the male dove with love
Flapping its wearied wings, relieves the pain
Its listless mate endures!" Said he not so?

And further-more he said: "The burning sun
Dries up the drooping bamboos on the hills
And makes the desert unapproachable!
And in that desert, which no shade affords,
The stag its suffering mate from heat protects
With its slight shadow!" So my spouse declared.

My husband, when he left, did speak to us
Of such endearing scenes that there exist.
He will not stay away, and so prolong
My pain of separation, but must come.
The lizard, hark! betokens his return!
And see, my well shaped left eye quivers too!

The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras

BY

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

IT is well-known that the epoch of 319-320 A. C. ascribed for the Gupta as well as the Valabhi eras and now universally accepted as their true and exact epoch has been solely or mainly deduced from the statements of Alberuni, which in brief are as follows:—

(i) The Gupta era came to be dated after the Guptas had become extinct;

(ii) The Valabhi era is also the Gupta era;

(iii) The Gupta era as well as the Valabhi era are later than the Saka era by 241 years.

That the Gupta era was founded or came into use after the Guptas themselves had become extinct is on the face of it quite improbable, if not impossible; and his other statement that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era is 319-20 A.C. fails in its applicability as will be seen from the following instances.

(1) A solar eclipse on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaisakha has been mentioned in the Bhattakapatra grant[1] of the Valabhi king Dharasena II dated in Valabhi Samvat (V.S.) 257. If Alberuni's epoch is correct, there ought to be a solar eclipse on the specified day in the years 576-77 A.C. But there was none on that day whether in 576 or in 577 A.C., nor in any other year between 573 A.C. and 592 A.C.

(2) The Ceylonese king Meghavarna is said to have sent an embassy to the court of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta,[2] and it is therefore certain that those 2 kings were contemporaries. We know that the Ceylonese king Mahasena, the predecessor of Meghavarna, reigned from 808 to 835 years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha, and also that Meghavarna ruled for 27 years thereafter, i.e., from 835 to 862 years after the great decease.[3] Now according to all established tradition, Buddha's *Nirvana* took place

1 Mysore Archæological Report (M. A. R.) for 1927 (p. 27).
2 Geiger's '*Mahavamsa*' (Introd. p. XXXIX).
3 Ibid (pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX).

in the year 544 B.C.[4] Whether that date may or may not be correct as the actual year of Buddha's demise, it has to be accepted intact as such, if we would maintain the integrity of the ancient history of Ceylon without affecting its chronology, as that date (544 B.C.) has been in use for over two thousand years as the epoch of the Buddha era in which the entire ancient history of the island has been recorded and the regnal years of nearly 77 successive kings have been dated. Thus then Meghavarna's reign would be from 291 A.C. to 318 A.C., when, according to Alberuni's date, the Gupta era had not yet been founded and Samudragupta perhaps not yet born.

(3) The Khoh plates of Samkshobha[5] dated in Gupta Samvat (G.S.) 209 contain the explicit words '**गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ**' ('in the enjoyment of sovereignty of the Gupta kings') with reference to the era in which they are dated; and it cannot mean otherwise than that the Gupta kings were still in power and still ruling over the land when those plates were engraved and issued, or in other words the Gupta sovereignty had not yet been overthrown at that time. We have likewise the plates of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I dated in V.S. 207.[6] If therefore the Gupta and the Valabhi eras are identical, the plates of Dhruvasena I would be evidently 2 years earlier than those of Samkshobha, as is apparent from their respective dates; and if again according to Alberuni, 319-320 A.C. be the common epoch of these 2 eras, V.S. 207 would be 207+319-20=526-527 A.C. and G.S. 209 would be 209+319-20=528-529 A.C.

From the Mandasor inscription of Daksha (F.G.I No. 35), it is evident that Yashodharma was still living and ruling[7] in the Malava year 589 i.e., 532 A.C., and that he was the same as Vishnuvardhana,[8] which was thus only an *alter nomen* of his, and further that he was an emperor.[9] Consequently the fact

4 Ibid (p. XXV).

5 Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' (F. G. I.) No. 25.

6 Indian Antiquary (I. A.)—Vol. V.

7 '**अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री यशोधर्मनामा**' (v. 5), in which the predicate is in the present tense.

8 '**पुनश्च श्री विष्णुवर्धन नराधिपतिः स एव ।**' (v. 6).

9 '**राजाधिराज परमेश्वर**' (v. 7). In F. G. I. (No. 34). Yashodharma speaks of himself as '**स श्रेयोधाम्नि सम्राडिति**' whence also it is clear that he was an emperor. From the words (F.G.I. No. 35) '**तस्य प्रभोर्वंशकृतां नृपाणां पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत पुण्यकीर्तिः ।**', it is evident that Yashodharma sprang from a family of rulers, and was not of any obscure origin.

that the defeat and subjugation of the Huna tyrant Mihirakula, which has been so distinctly mentioned in the other Mandasor inscription (F. G. No. 34) of Yashodharma himself, has not been even referred to in this (i.e., Daksha's) Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 35) sufficiently proves that Yashodharma's inscription (F. G. I No. 34) is undoubtedly the earlier of these two Mandasor inscriptions, and as such the subjugation of Mihirakula, being so fresh and so recent at that time, was mentioned in it as a matter of course, or in other words the very motive probably that actuated Yashodharma to set it up was more than anything else to make known to the world his victory over Mihirakula and the sway he acquired thereby over dominions vaster than those ruled over by the Gupta kings,[10] wherefore that inscription must have come to be engraved immediately after that victory; whereas while Daksha issued his inscription (F. G. I No. 35), which by the way is purely a private record of the inauguration of a well, Yashodharma's victory over Mihirakula was already some or several years old and that well and widely known fact thus needed no reiteration. Further as Daksha's deceased uncle Abhayadatta is said to have been the viceroy over the region lying between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra mountains (F. G. I. No. 35 v. 19), which position he could hold only after Yashodharma had dislodged Mihirakula from Malva and totally defeated him, Yashodharma must have finished his conquest of Mihirakula and have been crowned as Emperor sometime before Daksha succeeded Abhayadatta whereafter he inaugurated the well. Thus also it is evident that Yashodharma's inscription is several years earlier than that of Daksha. The interval between these two inscriptions may be at least some 15 years, and as Daksha's inscription is of 532 A.C., Yashodharma's inscription (F. G. I No. 34) may be assigned in round numbers to circa 515 A.C. by which time therefore Mihirakula had been entirely subjugated.

The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula (F. G. I No. 37) in which he is called '**पातः पृथिव्याः**' (lord of the earth) and '**नृपवृष**' (the best of the kings) is dated in his 15th regnal year. Mihirakula therefore must have reigned for at least 15 years before he was finally defeated by Yashodharma, and his overthrow of the Guptas may have been accomplished some 10 years before that date, say in circa 505 A.C., or in other words, the long rule of the Imperial Gupta dynasty which commenced in G. S. 1 (i.e., the 1st

10 '**ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्ति दृष्टप्रतापैः ।**' (F. G. I. No. 34 v. 4.)

year of G. S.) must have been once for all brought to an end in about 505 A.C.

Now from the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I's plates of V.S. 207 (I. A. vol. V), it is evident that it was emperor Yashodharma himself who anointed Dronasimha, the predecessor and elder brother of Dhruvasena I, on the Valabhi throne.[11] It is equally evident from the expression '**परमभट्टारक पादानुध्यातः**' used in the same plates by Dhruvasena in speaking of himself with reference to Yashodharma that Dhruvasena also acknowledged the suzerainty of Yashodharma, who, however, must have been just or already dead when the said plates were issued; for a mere comparison of that expression with the similar '**तत्पादानुध्यात**' occurring in many a record of the Valabhi kings themselves[12] sufficiently proves the fact that such and similar expressions were used by those kings with regard only to their predecessors whom they had seen and known, but who were already deceased. Hence the expression '**परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यात**' in which Dhruvasena I speaks of himself with regard to Yashodharma conclusively proves that Dhruvasena must have seen and known his paramount sovereign Yashodharma who, however, had been just or already dead when the plates were issued in V. S. 207.

From Daksha's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 35), we have already seen that Yashodharma was still living and ruling in the Malava year 589 i.e., in 532 A. C.

If therefore we accept Alberuni's date 319-320 A. C. as the true and exact epoch of the Gupta—Valabhi era, the date of Dhruvasena I's plates V.S. 207 would be 207+319-320=526-527 A. C. when Yashodharma was still living and ruling; and likewise the date G. S. 209 of Samkshobha's Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 25), when the Gupta kings should be still ruling over the land as expressly stated in it[13], would be 209+319--320=528-529 A. C. when, as we have seen, the Gupta sway had already been swept away by Mihirakula in about 505 A. C. i.e., about 25 years since. Further according to Alberuni's date, Samkshobha's Khoh plates of G. S. 209 would be later by 2 years than those of V. S. 207 of Dhruvasena I, whereas, in fact, Samkshobha's plates issued while the

11 '**अखिलमन्डलाभोग स्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहित राज्याभिषेकः।**' (vide. also 'Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties' (p. 312).

12 I. A. Vol. VI (pp. 14; 15; 18; 19); Vol. VII (pp. 74; 77; 82) etc.

13 '**गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ**'

Gupta kings were still ruling (and therefore prior to circa 505 A. C.) must be more than 25 years earlier than those of Dhruvasena I (which, as we know, must have been issued after the demise of Yashodharma) as at least 25 years had elapsed between the final overthrow of the Guptas in circa 505 A. C. and the date 532 A. C. of Daksha's Mandasor inscription (G. I.. No. 35) when Yashodharma was still living.

The only conclusions deducible, therefore, from these instances are

(1) that the Gupta era and the Valabhi era cannot be identical, and

(2) that neither of them can have 319-320 A.C. for its epoch.

Thus then Alberuni is no safe pilot. We shall have therefore to drop him for the present and in this redetermination of the epochs of the Gupta and the Valabhi eras we shall simply rely upon that chart of facts and figures which the various Gupta, Valabhi and other contemporary records provide.

THE GUPTA ERA

It need not be said that a correct construction of the Gupta genealogy, and at least an approximately correct settlement of their chronology are the first sure and secure steps in the determination of the correct epoch of their era. We shall therefore first try to settle them. From the Bhitari pillar inscription (F. G. I No. 13) we have their correct genealogy from their progenitor Gupta Maharaja[14] downwards to Maharajadhiraja Skanda Gupta, which is as follows:—

Gupta
|
Ghatotkacha
|

14 From the fact that Ghatotkacha is mentioned without the surname 'Gupta' attached to his name wherever it occurs in the Gupta inscriptions (F. G. I. Nos. 1; 4; 10; 12; 13), these inferences can be made—(1) The Gupta kings took the surname 'Gupta' from Chandragupta I (the 1st 'Maharajadhiraja' of the dynasty and the founder of their dynastic era) downwards; and therefore (2) something else, and not Gupta, was the original and real name of their family, and also therefore (3) Gupta, and not Srigupta, was the proper name of their progenitor, and 'Sri' prefixed thereto is merely honorific as is commonly the case with the names of all the kings of that or any other dynasty.

Chandragupta I
|
Samudragupta
|
Chandragupta II
|
Kumaragupta I
|
Skandagupta

and the dates so far known of some of these kings (F. G. I. Int. p. 17) are as follows:—

(1) Chandragupta II—G. S. 82; 88; 93; 94 or 95.

(2) Kumaragupta I—G. S. 96; 98; 129; 130.

(3) Skandagupta—G. S. 136; 137; 138; 141; 144; 145; 146; 147; 148; 149.

Now from the following verse[15]

वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुः पञ्चाशदुत्तरे भूमिम् ।
शासति कुमारगुप्ते मासे ज्येष्ठे द्वितीयायाम् ॥

it is evident that in G. S. 154 a certain Kumaragupta was on the imperial throne of the Guptas; and as G. S. 154 is just 5 years from G. S. 149 when, we know, Skandagupta was reigning as king, it is quite obvious that this Kumaragupta must be the second of that name, and certain it is that he was the immediate successor of Skandagupta, as there is scarcely any room for another between these two, and it is equally certain that he must be the son of Skandagupta in that, his name is the same as that of Skandagupta's father. Assuredly therefore it was after the death of this Kumaragupta II, who perhaps died issueless, that his uncle Puragupta (son of Kumaragupta I and brother of Skandagupta) ascended the throne, and after a brief reign he in his turn was succeeded by his son Narasimhagupta otherwise also known as Baladitya. This Narasimhagupta Baladitya was a contemporary of the Huna tyrant Mihirakula and he thus seems to have been the last monarch that sat on the imperial throne of the Guptas. Knowing as we do that the reign of Puragupta was very short and that Skandagupta could not have ruled for more than 20 years at most

15 Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, 1915 (p. 6).

(circa G. S. 130-150), it may not be unreasonable to presume that the intermediate reign of Kumaragupta II must be a sufficiently long reign of about 40 to 60 years; or in round numbers he may be said to have reigned for about 50 years i.e., from about G.S. 150 to about G. S. 200. Thus then the years G. S. 156 (F. G. I No. 21). G. S. 163 (Do. No. 22), G. S. 165 (Do. No. 19), and G. S. 191 (Do. Nos. 20 and 23) would necessarily fall in the reign of Kumaragupta II.

It may therefore be remarked once for all that neither Budhagupta (F. G. I No. 19) nor Bhanugupta (Do. No. 20) could have ever sat on the imperial thone of the Guptas, as neither of them was a 'Maharajadhiraja' (paramount sovereign), but Budhagupta was merely a 'Bhupati'[16], and Bhanugupta only a 'Raja'[17] and also because the date G. S. 165 of the Eran pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 19) in which Budhagupta is mentioned cannot but fall in the reign of the Emperor Kumaragupta II and likewise the other date G. S. 191 of the other Eran posthumous inscription (F. G. I No. 20) in which Bhanugupta is mentioned falls also in the same reign. In all likelihood therefore they were members of the Imperial Gupta family closely related to the reigning sovereign and were thus placed in charge of large provinces with some or several feudatories under them: they were thus at most viceroys of the blood royal.

Now let us draw up the Gupta genealogy assigning such dates as have been already found in the records or coins of the respective monarchs from Chandragupta II to Skandagupta, and giving approximate dates to the others that follow.

Gupta
|
Ghatotkacha
|
1. Chandragupta I
|
2. Samudragupta
|
3. Chandragupta II
(G. S. 61-95)
|

16 'भूपतौ च बुधगुप्त' (F. G. I. No. 19).
17 'भानुगुप्तो राजा' (Ibid No. 20).

4. Kumaragupta I
(G. S. 96-130)

5. Skandagupta (G. S. 130-150)	7. Puragupta (G. S. 200-210)
6. Kumaragupta II (G. S. 150-200)	8. Narasimhagupta Baladitya (G. S. 210-)

The next question before us is who is the Kumaragupta of Bandhuvarma's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 18)? Whether the 1st or the 2nd King of that name?

This so-called Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarma is neither an inscription of Kumaragupta nor that of Bandhuvarma, but in fact it is an inscription of a guild of silk-weavers who had migrated into Western Malva and settled at Dasapura, which is perhaps Mandasor itself. It is a poem consisting of 2 different parts: the first part relates to matters as they stood in that part of Malva in the Malava year 493 i.e., 437-438 A. C.[18]; and the latter part speaks of matters as they stood in the Malava year 529 i.e., 473-474 A. C., though for certain that inscription as a whole was composed and engraved in 473-74 A. C. In the first part Kumaragupta has been mentioned as the paramount sovereign (v. 23) and Bandhuvarma as his feudatory prince ruling over that part of Malava (vv. 26 & 29), wherefore both of them should be living and ruling in 437 A. C. In the second part, however, there is no mention either of the paramount sovereign or his feudatory ruler of Malva, but on the contrary, we have the following words:
'बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः।' (v. 36)
—'when a long time had passed by and when other kings (were

18 In this inscription, the sun-temple is said to have been consecrated on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of 'Sahasya' (i.e., 'Pushya') in the Malava year 493. In 493—58=435 A. C., the 'Uttarayana Samkranti' i.e., the winter solstice occurred on this very day, which was Thursday 19th December 435 A. C. It is quite befitting that the temple dedicated to the Sun-god should be consecrated on the day of his northern passage, as it is not only one of the most sacred days in the Hindu religious year, but also the most sacred in the year for the solar worshippers. It therefore seems that the equivalent year should be 435 A.C. and not 437 A.C.

ruling)'; whence it is conclusive enough that some radical change must have taken place in the affairs of that country in the interval between 437 and 473 A. C.

The astounding feature of this inscription is that while it mentions the names of the Gupta Sovereign and his Malva feudatory who were ruling in 437 A. C. i.e., some 40 years before it was actually composed, it not only does not mention who the contemporary Gupta emperor was and who his feudatory ruler of Malva in the year 473 A. C., when it was composed and engraved; but seems to be obviously reluctant to mention even the name of the then ruler of the country in which it was set up. The only possible conclusion, therefore, seems to be that in the interval between 437 and 473 A. C. that part of Malva must have been conquered and wrested from the hands of the Guptas, and the conqueror must have installed himself or his own viceroy on the throne of Bandhuvarma; for it is certain that in case that country had not yet passed out of the hands of Bandhuvarma or his successors, and also if it had not yet ceased to be a part of the Gupta empire before 473 A. C. the composer, who had eulogized with such patriotic zeal the Gupta Emperor and the prince of Malva that were ruling about 40 years ago, would never have failed to pay an equally fervent tribute to the contemporary Gupta Sovereign as well as the ruler of Malva, when he composed it in 473 A. C. The omission therefore is due neither to any ignorance nor any negligence on the part of the composer, but it seems to be the direct outcome of his deliberate indifference, if not disdain, towards the person who was then (473 A. C.) sitting in the throne of Bandhuvarma.

It is therefore not only certain that Western Malva (in which Mandasor stands) had been conquered between 437 and 473 A.C. and the conqueror could be none else than the Huna leader Toramana, whose Boar inscription of the 1st regnal year (F. G. I. No. 36) stands at Eran in eastern Malva, but also that the year of that conquest falling as it does between 437 and 473 A. C. would in all probability fall in the reign of that Kumaragupta who was on the Gupta throne in 437 A. C. or in that of his successor, if that Kumaragupta had been dead by that time.

Now it is admitted on all hands that the date 52 found on the coins of Toramana is indicative of the number of his regnal year. We have also a record of the 15th regnal year (F. G. I No. 37) of his son Mihirakula. The total length of the reigns of both of them would thus be 70 years more or less. As we have already seen that the downfall of Mihirakula must have been brought

about in about 515 A. C. by Yashodharma, the 1st regnal year of Toramana would be circa 515—70 i.e., circa 445 A.C. It is therefore in circa 444-445 A. C. that Toramana must have conquered that portion of the Gupta empire over which Dhanyavishnu ruled i.e., eastern Malva, where in Eran his (F. G. I. No. 36) Boar inscription, (in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Toramana in the latter's very first regnal year) stands. Toramana's conquest of the western Malva, in which Bandhuvarma's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I. No. 18) stands, may therefore be placed approximately between 445 and 450 A. C.

We know that G. S. 165 is the date of the Eran pillar inscription of the brothers Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (F. G. I. No. 19), and as it is only 11 years from G.S. 154, when we have seen Kumaragupta II was on the throne, it must naturally fall within the reign of the said Gupta emperor. Necessarily therefore the Kumaragupta of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarma (F. G. I. No. 18) must be Kumaragupta II (and never could he be Kumaragupta I) inasmuch as its first date 437 A. C. is only some 8 years anterior to circa 445 A. C. which, as we have seen, is the 1st regnal year of Toramana and in which the aforesaid Dhanyavishnu acknowledges the suzerainty of the foreign conqueror.

Thus then while Kumaragupta II was ruling as the paramount Sovereign, and Budhagupta was his viceroy placed in charge of the Government of eastern Malva, the brothers Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu were ruling over a petty state in eastern Malva (which had perhaps Eran itself for its capital) subordinate to the feudatory prince Surasmichandra in G. S. 165 (F. G. I. No. 19). The reason why the elder brother Matrivishnu associates with himself his younger brother Dhanyavishnu in the erection of the flag-staff (F. G. I No. 19) seems to be that Matrivishnu was perhaps already well-advanced in years at that time and perhaps also issueless, in which case it is but natural that he should associate with himself his younger brother and heir-apparent in the performance of that solemn act. If so, Matrivishnu was then perhaps of about 60 to 65 years of age, and his younger brother Dhanyavishnu some 10 or 15 years junior. In the latter's Eran Boar inscription (F. G. I. No. 36), Matrivishnu is said to have been dead, wherefore it may be at least 10 years later than both the brothers' Eran pillar inscription of G. S. 165 (F. G. I. No. 19); i.e., to say the Eran Boar inscription may be assigned to G. S. circa 175. We have already seen that this Eran Boar inscription, which is dated

in the 1st regnal year of Toramana (F. G. I. No. 36) may be approximately assigned to 445 A. C. Therefore G. S. 175 and 445 A.C. must be sufficiently close to each other, or in other words the initial year of the Gupta era must be close to 445—175=270 A.C.

We have seen that G. S. 154 is an early date in the reign of Kumaragupta II, and we have also seen that in G. S. 209, in which Samkshobha's plates (F. G. I. No. 25) are dated, and which is perhaps the latest sure date we have in the chronology of the Guptas, the Guptas were still in power. The difference between G. S. 154 and G. S. 209 is 55 years, and probably G. S. 209 fell within the long reign of Kumaragupta II himself. Even if not, it is certain that G. S. 209 cannot be far anterior to the date of the overthrow of the Guptas and therefore the said date (G. S. 209) may be placed with fair certainty about 15 to 20 years in advance of that event. Consequently the overthrow of the Guptas may be placed in about G. S. 229, and we have already assigned it to circa 505 A. C. The initial year of the Gupta era must therefore be some where close to 505—229=276 A.C.

To find out the true and exact epoch of the Gupta era, we have to use a test case and apply that test to about 20 years from 260 to 280 A. C. to find out which of them gives the correct and accurate results.

The handiest case is supplied by the New Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II, which is dated the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the first (i.e., intercalary) month of Ashadha in G. S. 61 (which is also the 1st regnal year of Chandragupta II).[19] So there was an intercalary month of Ashadha in the 61st or 62nd year of the Gupta era (as it is not expressly stated whether the year is current or expired). Adding 61 and 62 to every one of the years from 260 A. C. to 280 A. C. we find that in all those years from 321 A.C. to 342 A.C. it was only in the year 334 A.C. that the said lunar month was intercalary. Deducting therefore both 61 and 62 from 334 A. C. we get the years 272 A. C. and 273 A. C. Thus then 272-273 A. C. ought to be the epoch of the Gupta era.

[19] 'भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसंवत्सरे (प्रथमे?) गुप्तकालानुक्रम...संवत्सरेऽेकषष्ठे आषाढमासे प्रथमे शुक्लदिवसे पञ्चम्याम् ।'

This extract was very kindly communicated to me by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, now the Curator of the Satara Historical Museum; and the same scholar has lately informed me that his article on this inscription will be soon published in the 'Epigraphia Indica.'

Let us now see if this epoch holds good with regard to other test cases.

(1) The Eran pillar inscription of Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (F. G. I. No. 19) of which we have spoken above, is dated thus—Thursday the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashadha in G. S. 165.

Now
$$165+272=437 \text{ A. C. and}$$
$$165+273=438 \text{ A. C.}$$

In 437 A. C. the 12th lunar day of the bright half of the natural month of Ashadha (निज आषाढ) was Thursday the 1st of July.

(2) The Khoh grant of Parivrajaka Maharaja Hasti (F. G. I. No. 21) dated G. S. 156, in the 'Maha-Vaisakha' year, on the 3rd lunar day in the bright half of the month of Kartika.

$$156+272=428 \text{ A. C.}$$
$$156+273=429 \text{ A. C.}$$

The lunar day specified in the grant is equivalent to 16th October 429 A. C., when, according to the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the year was Maha-Vaisakha.

(3) The Khoh grant (F. G. I. No. 22) of the same prince dated G. S. 163, in the 'Maha-Ashvayuja' year on the 2nd lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra.

$$163+272=435 \text{ A. C.}$$
$$163+273=436 \text{ A. C.}$$

The specific lunar day is 17th March 435 A. C. when the year of the 12-year Jovian cycle was Maha-Ashvayuja.

(4) The Majhgawam grant ((F. G. I. No. 23) of the same prince dated G. S. 191 in the 'Maha-Chaitra' year on the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Magha.

$$191+272=463 \text{ A. C.}$$
$$191+273=464 \text{ A. C.}$$

The specified day is 14th December 463 A. C. when the year of the said 12-year Jovian cycle was Maha Chaitra. The date as doubly recorded in this grant proves that the scheme of months in the Gupta year was 'Purnimanta' i.e., to say the dark fortnight preceded the bright.

(5) The Khoh grant of Samkshobha (F. G. I. No. 25) dated G. S. 209 in the 'Maha Ashvayuja' year, on the 13th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, which was also the 29th day of the same month of Chaitra.

209+272=481 A. C.
209+273=482 A. C.

In 481 A. C. the Maha-Ashvayuja year commenced on the 10th or 11th day after the vernal equinox (which was 18th March 481 A.C.) i.e., to say it began on the 28th or 29th of March, and lasted till about 7th May 482 A. C. The day specified in the grant, which is 29th March 481 A. C., thus happens to be the very first day of the Jovian Maha-Ashvayuja year. At the end of this grant, there is mentioned also the solar day चैत्र दि 29' i.e., the 29th day of the month of Chaitra, which therefore is identical with the lunar day mentioned in the body of it. This double record of the date also conclusively proves that in the Gupta year, the arrangement of the months was 'Purnimanta.' It also seems to settle another important point, and it is that the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna was the first day of the Gupta year, for the date 29th March of this grant which is also said to be the 29th day of 'Purnimanta' month of Chaitra, is exactly the 29th day from the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna (both the days inclusive) which occurred on 1st March 481 A. C. Probably therefore it was on the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna (i.e., Wednesday 19th February 273 A. C.) that the Gupta era was founded and the imperial title of Maharajadhiraja assumed by Chandragupta I.

(6) From the 'New Mathura Inscription' already referred to, we know that Samudragupta died in G. S. 60 or 61 i.e., 332 or 333 A. C. His reign may thus be safely placed between 293 and 333 A.C. He was thus precisely a contemporary of the Ceylonese King Meghavarna, who, as we have seen, reigned from 291 A. C. to 318 A. C.

(7) From Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 1), we know that one of the kings he conquered in his South Indian campaign was Vishnugopa of Kanchi (कांचेयक विष्णुगोप) was no doubt a contemporary Pallava king of that name. As neither the genealogy nor the chronology of the Pallavas has as yet been satisfactorily settled, the date of this Pallava king has to be discussed at length and afresh. I therefore propose to deal with it in my forthcoming article on the 'Chronology of the Pallavas.'

(8) Next there is the Nepal inscription of Manadeva (F. G. I. Int. pp. 95-7), in which the date runs—'samvat 386, on the 1st lunar day in the month of Jyestha, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism called Rohini'

386+272=658 A. C.
386+273=659 A. C.

In 658 A. C. the specified day was 8th May, and in 659 A. C. it was 28th April, on both of which the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Rohini. This is not so crucial a test as those others, in that a mere glance at the Indian almanacs, say from 1915 to 1932, will at once show that in these 18 years, the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Rohini on the first lunar day of the month of Jyestha in 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1925, 1927 and 1928, i.e., in 9 out of 18 years, and some of these 9 years are also consecutive years. Further, it has not yet been conclusively proved that the 'Samvat' in which this Nepal inscription is dated is Gupta era and no other. In fact, the so many Nepal inscriptions that have been collected and given in Appendix IV of Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Int. pp. 177-191) have yet to be more closely inquired into before the eras in which they are dated can be settled once for all.

Thus 272-273 A.C. is the epoch of the Gupta era.

Let us now take a cue from the Jaina tradition[20] according to which the duration of the rule of the imperial Guptas was 231 years.

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकत्रिंशच्चवर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥

The Gupta rule must have accordingly come to an end in 272—273+231=503—504 A. C. or in other words, the Guptas were conquered and overthrown by Mihirakula in 503-504 A. C. In that case, these few further remarks can be made—

(1) The year 214 of Sarvanath's Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 31) which Dr. Fleet was obliged to refer to the Kalachuri (or Chedi) era,[21], inasmuch as when referred to Alberuni's Gupta era (319-20 A. C.) the result would be 319-20+214=533-34 A. C., when

20 Jinasena's "Jaina Harivamsa' (quoted in M. A. R. 1923: p. 12).
21 F. K. D. (p. 293).

according to Daksha's Mandasor inscription of 532 A. C. (F. G. I. No. 35), Yashodharma had already conquered Mihirakula and therefore the Gupta rule had been pretty long ago extinct, will now be rightly referred to the Gupta era. For the very fact that Hasti and Sarvanatha, both of whom were feudatory princes, settled a boundary question between themselves without referring the same to their respective paramount sovereigns, as recorded in their Bhumara pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 24), suffices to prove that they were the co-ordinate feudatories of the same paramount Sovereign, as otherwise that political question should have been referred to their respective suzerains, who alone had the right to settle it whether in peace or by war. Now as the 3 other records of Hasti (F. G. I. Nos. 21; 22; 23) are clearly dated in the Gupta era गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ (=when the Guptas were still ruling), it is quite certain that he was a feudatory of the Guptas. The other prince Sarvanatha therefore was also a feudatory of the Guptas; and the year 214 of his Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 31) should consequently be referred to the Gupta era and it thus would be 214+272-73=486-487 A. C.

(2) Similarly, the Mathura image inscription (F. G. I. No. 70) of the year 230 seems in all likelihood to have been dated in the Gupta era, in which case it would be 230+272-73=502-503 A. C. This is perhaps the last date we have got in the Gupta era.

(3) But the year 269, in which the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Mahanama (F. G. I. No. 71) is dated cannot be referred to the Gupta era, as in that case its date would be 269+272-73=541-42 A. C. i.e., more than a third of a century after the Gupta rule, and with it also the Gupta era, had become extinct. This Mahanama, as he has told us in this inscription was a Ceylonese by birth (लङ्काद्वीपप्रसूतः) and it is quite probable that he may have dated it in some Ceylonese era that was current in his day.

(To be continued)

(Note: The Editor regrets that this has had to be allowed to go in without the proper diacritical marks.)

Bābar's Inscriptions near Aligarh

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There is a small village about 14 miles from Aligarh which is now called Pilakhnah. This village is of small account just now, although it is locally known as the home of the late Mowlavi Lutfullah, once the Mufti of the Hyderabad High Court. Local tradition has it that the name of the place was really Phílkhānah or Pílkhānah, i.e., Elephant-stables, and it was here that the early Mughal Emperors kept their elephants. The environs are mentioned by the famous Arab traveller, Ibn-i Batūtah who halted at Jalāli, situated three miles from Pilakhnah and who speaks of a Kōshak-i Sultāni or the Royal Kiosk, now, marked perhaps by a huge mound of earth near the villages Sādabād and Bahrāmpur. The other day I happened to go to Pilakhnah on an historical expedition and was surprised to find beautiful relics of the time of Bābar and Humāyun almost intact in their perfection. The Jum'a Masjid of the village contains the following inscription:

بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحیم۔ قال النبی صلی الله علیه وسلم

عجّلوا الصّلوٰة قبل الفوت۔ وعجلوا التوبة قبل (الموت)

کرد این مسجد بنا چون کعبهٔ ملجائے عام

اشرف الاشراف گهورن بن محمّد بن اسلام

سال هجرت بود نوصد وسی وپنج اندر شمار

نوبت ظهیر الدین محمّد بابر بادشاه

"With the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate,
"Said the Messenger, God's Peace and His Compliments be on him!

'Hasten unto Prayers before death, and hasten unto righteousness before (death).'

"The foundations of this mosque were laid as the ka'bah of the wishes of all

"By the noble of the nobles, Ghooran son of Mohammad, Son of Islam

"The years of the Hijra was 935,

"The reign of Zahiruddin Mohammad Bābar, King."

This seems to be one of the very few monuments of the reign of Bābar extant, and it is a pity that neither this nor the following monuments have been declared "preserved" by the Archaeological Department of India.

The next monument worthy of note is a square domed building called "Humāyun's well," which is no longer a well but a place where local tazias are now housed. The building shows the early development of the typical Mughal or the "Indo Saracenic" arch, while the Jum'a Masjid is built mainly on the "Hindu-Pathan" model which reminds one of the style of the Quwwatu'l Islam mosque at Delhi and the Jum'a Masjid of Dowlatabad (Dn.). It is interesting in that it contains not only the straight lines of the Pathān mosques and the characteristic pillars of the pure Hindu style but also the early development of Mughal arch which is a feature of the gateway.

The inscription on "Humāyun's well" reads:

"This well was planned during the reign of King Mohammad Humāyun, Emperor. It was founded by Shaikh Mahmūd, the worthy son of Shaikh Bhooran. . . In 93 . . . was completed this well."

مرتب شد این چاه در عهد شاه
محمد همایون بادشاه
بنا شیخ محمود اهل انام
پسر شیخ بهورن (گورن)
بتاریخ نه صد و سی و بود
شد اتمام این چهه

Near by are the remains of what is called the House of Shaikh Bhooran (Ghooran), containing some delightful arches. It is a pity I did not happen to have camera, otherwise it would have been a treat to photograph them.

It is locally mentioned that Ghooran was the keeper of the stables in the days of Bābar and his descendants actually own a part of the village in Zemindari.

Hamayun & Maldev.

By

Professor Sri Ram Sharma,

Lahore.

When Sher Shah and Hamayun were fighting out their claims to the Empire of India, Rao Maldev of Jodhpur was busy in conquering the larger part of Rajputana. Succeeding to the throne of Jodhpur on 5th June, 1532[1] [illegible] was barely twenty[2] he had by the middle of [illegible] converted Jodhpur into the greatest state of Rajputana. When the battle of Kanauj was fought he was already master of the whole of Jodhpur, Nagaur, Merta, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and had made conquests into Mewar as well. Besides, he held some districts in Jaipur[3]. As Persian Historians are agreed in stating, he was at this time the greatest Hindu Ruler in the country.[4] His territories marched within an easy distance of the imperial dominions.

When the battle of Kanauj sent Hamayun a fugitive for his life Maldev felt that an opportunity had been offered him of intervening in the affairs of India. He sent an invitation to Hamayun when he visited Bhakkar towards the end of January, 1542.[5] He offered to join him with a force twenty thousand strong.[6] Maldev thought he might thus be able to persuade Hamayun to join his forces with him and thus challenge the might of Sher Shah. Though the battle of Kanauj had been fought a year since, Sher Shah had not yet had time enough to consolidate his powers in India. He had expelled the Mughals from the Punjab, he held the Doab, Bengal was under him; yet the greater part of India had yet to be conquered. His army was busy subduing the Blochi chiefs and the Ghakkars in the Punjab.[7] Mirza

1. Nensi's Chronicle of Jodhpur, 95.
2. Born on December 4, 1511, Mundhyar Chronicle, 77.
3. Cf. Nensi's (pp. 95 to 121), Mundhyar (77 to 88), Kaviraj 63 to 78.
4. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 231, 232.
5. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 205, Akbar Nama, I, 172.
6. Tarikh-i-Hindo, Sind, 280.
7. Tabaqat, 230; Dorn I, 130.

Haidar was disputing the throne of Kashmir against Sher Shah's nominee.[8] Bengal was up in arms against him under his own Governor Khizar Khan and Sher Shah had hastened there to conquer the province that had made him Emperor of India.[9] Malwa lay unsubdued with Hamayun's Governor Abdul Qazim in possession of Gwalior in the neighbourhood. Mallu Qadar Shah of Malwa was also hostile to him.[10] The smaller chiefs in the neighbourhood were not likely to be well affected towards him with the bigger ones in open hostility.

This was Maldev's chance. With the unsuccessful example of Rana Sanga's invitation to Babur before his eyes, he was prepared to attack the Muslim dominion in India through a puppet. Hamayun had been defeated and driven out; he had only an army 3,000 strong with him. Maldev on the other hand was the strongest Hindu chief of his times, his armies had never yet been defeated. He had moreover an army of 50,000 Rathors, brave in battle. If Hamayun would but join his fortunes to the resources of Maldev, the Rathor Chief was sure he would be more than a match for any other ruler of India. Sher Shah who, with armies ten times as strong, had to run away at the mad rush of a handful of Rathors later on, would have been no match for his Rathor antagonist who was as much a master of diplomacy as the Pathan Chief. When the Pathan was defeated —so Maldev must have argued—why, Hamayun would have had to be content with a subordinate position as independent Governor of the frontier provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Multan and Kabul, or, be nominal emperor like Shah Alam under the Sindhia later on—of India that would know Maldev as her Master.

But the best of it was that Sher Shah could not have offered the Rathors and their Mughal allies, a speedy battle. He could not leave Bengal in arms behind him, the Ghakkars left unsubdued would have provided for him a rather tough problem. The call to battle against the Rathors could only have been answered by retreating from a position where retreat would have meant a definite set back to his fortune. It would have been just the game that he had himself played against Hamayun.

8. Tarikhi-i-Rashidi, 485.
9. Tabaqat, 230, 231; Dorn, I, 131, 132; Badayuni, I, 365.
10. Khulast-tuwarikh, 349; Dorn I, 132.

But Hamayun was a blunderer. He did not even deign to return an answer to this invitation.[11] He had always mocked at his good fortune and now proved that oft-repeated judgment on his career that he was his worst enemy. Was he afraid of joining his fortune with this wily Rathor who was as much a master of guile as Sher Shah? Is it possible that Hamayun was afraid of falling from the frying pan into the fire? He may have thought he still had some remote chance of conquering India from Sind. He may have doubted the wisdom of owing his throne to such a powerful prince as Maldev. The Mughals as yet had never joined issue with the Rathors of Jodhpur. But Kamaran's invasion of Bikaner in 1535 had been an inglorious rout.[12] Anyway Hamayun did not accept this invitation which was repeated several times during the course of the year.[13]

But Sind was an inhospitable country. Hamayun's siege was not successful. Mirza Shah Hussain turned against him; his cousin Yadgar deserted him and Hamayun was thankful to get back to Bhakkar with the loss of his baggage only. Here again his ill fortune dogged his footsteps. He was not sure even of his safety here. Despondent, he talked of leaving the world and retiring to Mecca. Now his companions bethought of Maldev's invitations.[14] Deserted on all sides, hunted by his friends and foes alike, he decided to proceed towards Maldev's territories.[15]

It was easier said than done. There was a direct route from Bhakkar to Jodhpur; but it was discovered that it was too dangerous for Hamayun to attempt it just then. It was decided, therefore, to march by way of Uch and Jaisalamer into Maldev's territory.[16] Hamayun left Rohri on May 7th reaching Arud soon

11. No answer is recorded in Akbar Nama; Tabaqai-i-Akbari, Hamayun Nama, Memoirs of Jauhar, Na'mat Ullah, Tarikhi-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi.

12. Ballad of Rao Jetsi, edited by Dr. Tessitori (A.S.B.).

13. Akbar Nama, I, 179.

14. Muntikhib-ut-Tawarikh 439; Tarikhi-Sind 281. Maasum and Badayuni leave one under the impression that an invitation was received about this time. They do not mention an earlier invitation. But all other accounts of Maldev's relations with Hamayun agree in the statement that Hamayun's march into Jodhpur was separated from the invitation by a long interval.

15. Hamayun Nama, 54; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 205; Akbar Nama, I, 179; Badayuni, 439; Tarikh-i-Sind, 281.

16. Tabqai-i-Akbari, 205; Hamayun Nama, 55.

after. Here a great quantity of corn and fodder fell into Hamayun's hands.[17] Passing Mhow, Hamayun was well out of the territory commanded by the Governor of Bhakkar, and he thanked his stars that he had escaped unhurt.[18] Soon after Uch was reached. The privations of Hamayun's companions were increased by the scarcity of supplies, and they had to live on *bers* and other wild fruits. Bakhshi Langah, the Governor of Uch, assumed a threatening attitude, and Hamayun was lucky to escape with safety from his dominions.[19]

A wandering mendicant now came to the rescue of the royal party. He told them that the fort Dilawar in Maldev's dominions was well provisioned, and that they would do well to march thereto.[20] This led Hamayun to march in that direction. Dilawar was duly reached. Here the royal fugitive remained for three days. Abul Fazal and Gulbadan Begam assert that this did not help the royal party very much whereas Jauhar declares that they were able to get abundant provisions here.[21] Naturally Jauhar's statement is worthy of more credence.

Hamayun had now entered Maldev's territory. It would have been best for him to encamp here for sometime and to wait for Maldev's response to his approaches. But Sheikh Ali Beg, one of his commanders, counselled otherwise. He proposed that Dilawar be attacked and taken by surprise. Hamayun wisely rejected this treacherous advice.[22] But it seems the news of a projected attack spread far and wide, and Hamayun had to slip away from Dilawar. So great was the distress into which the Mughal party had fallen at this time, that for once Hamayun departed from his usual generosity. A Mughal merchant to whom Hamayun was in debt was found to be dying of thirst on the roadside. Hamayun coolly marched up to him, demanded the cancellation of his debt as the price of a pitcher of water and when the Mughal nodded assent, asked three of his courtiers to stand witness. The mockery gone through, Hamayun gave the Mughal water who was then able to reach the camp.[23]

17. Jauhar, 35.
18. Jauhar, 35.
19. Jauhar, 35.
20. Akbar Nama; Hamayun Nama, 55; Jauhar, 35.
21. Jauhar, 36.
22. Hamayun Nama, 55; Jauhar, 36.
23. Jauhar, 36, 37.

Hamayun now set his face towards Jaisalmer. After three days' hard marching, the party was approaching Jaisalmer. The Rawal of Jaisalmer, Lun Karn, disputed their further advance. A skirmish followed. When the Raja's party discovered that Hamayun had slunk away, they gave up the fight and returned to the fort.[24] Hamayun however found the position so dangerous that the party rode hard for life, and traversed 120 miles that day in order to leave the territory of this hostile ruler far behind.[25]

This took them into the territories of Rao Maldev again. Wasilpur was sighted first and then the party reached Bikaner.[26] Hamayun stayed at Bikaner for some time and sent Rai Mul Soni as an observer to Rao Maldev's capital. He was to discover Maldev's intentions secretly by freely mixing with his chiefs and report to Hamayun the result of his endeavours. If he found communicating his answer in writing difficult he was to do so by signs already agreed upon.[27]

From here the party marched on to Phalodi about 120 miles from Jodhpur. It had not yet been incorporated in Maldev's dominions[28] but the local Rai was a Rathor, and he affected to be subordinate to Maldev now when such a powerful prince was encamping in his territories.

Meanwhile news of Hamayun's approach had already reached Maldev. Hamayun had first entered Maldev's territories at Dilawar about three weeks ago. Maldev must have heard of it and seems to have watched Hamayun's movements since then. When Hamayun's party reached Phalodi, Rao Maldev's messengers came bearing presents of fruits, arms and gold. Maldev further added that Hamayun could have Bikaner.[29] Hamayun accepted the gifts graciously like a Mughal Emperor, and, not content with Maldev's delicate hint, now despatched Mir Samand as an imperial envoy to Maldev's court.[30] Mir Sarmud gone, Hamayun stayed here for some time and then marched on towards Jodhpur.

24. Hamayun Nama, 55.
25. Akbar Nama, I, 179.
26. Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282; Akbar Namah.
27. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Nama, I, 180.
28. Kaviraj, 33; History of Philodi by Dr. Tessitori in J. A. S. B. No. 3 of 1916, pp. 89, 90.
29. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
30. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 205.

Maldev meanwhile was not idle. He wanted to get an exact estimate of Hamayun's resources and just as Hamayun had sent Rai Mal Soni secretly to Maldev's court, the Rajput ruler sent Sanga, a trusted officer of his, to Hamayun's camp. Sanga appeared in the Mughal camp when it was marching towards Jodhpur and passed as a merchant. He displayed a costly diamond among his wares. Suspicion was excited and a searching examination revealed the true character of Sanga. Hamayun however could not pick a quarrel with Maldev on these minute particulars of ceremonial and was content with letting Sanga go with a warning.[31] This was probably due to the fact that one, Raju, Humayun's door keeper, left the Emperor's camp about this time and went to Maldev. He reported that Hamayun carried a large amount of wealth on his person in the shape of jewels. In order to ascertain the truth of this piece of news, Maldev may have sent Sanga to Hamayun's camp.

Marching swiftly Hamayun reached Kaul-i-Jogi, about 8 miles from Jodhpur. Here Hamayun finally pitched his tents.[32] Maldev had not yet informed the Emperor of his intentions, and Hamayun thought it best to send another envoy to his court in the person of Shams-ud-Din.

Meanwhile Maldev found himself in difficulties. He had invited Hamayun no doubt, but that invitation had been sent almost a year earlier. As was said above, Sher Shah at that time was away elsewhere, and Maldev could have easily helped Hamayun. Now however the tables were turned. Sher Shah's officers must have been informed of Hamayun's intentions in May, 1542, when Hamayun had been obliged to leave Bhakkar and seek refuge in Maldev's territories. His movements in Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Jodhpur must have been watched anxiously by Sher Shah. Now when Hamayun was encamping in Jodhpur territories, Sher Shah showed his hand. He invaded Nagor[33] which had been a part of Maldev's territories since 1535[34] and occupied its outlying parts. He followed this expedition to Maldev's territories by sending an ambassador to Maldev's court.[35] Thus Shams-ud-Din and *Mir Sammud*, Hamayun's envoys, and Sher Shah's representatives were at Maldev's court at the same time.

31. Akbar Namah, I, 180; Jauhar.
32. Jauhar, 37; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
33. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206; Akbar Namah, I, 180.
34. Mundhyur 78, Kaviraj, 68.
35. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Namah, I, 180.

Maldev had a difficult decision to make. Hamayun was no doubt his guest. But to help this royal fugitive was just now impossible for him. His unopposed march into Jodhpur territory had already cost Maldev Nagor. If he joined his forces with Hamayun he would have to face an immediate war with Sher Shah whose armies were already in Nagor. He had no chance of taking Sher Shah by surprise as would have been the case had Hamayun accepted his invitation the previous year. To clinch it all Sher Shah's envoy was holding out promises of immediate withdrawal from Nagor and cessation of additional territories in the neighbourhood.[36] Faced with these alternatives, it is not surprising that Maldev was at last persuaded into agreeing to Sher Shah's suggestion of not helping Hamayun.[37]

But there was Hamayun within his borders encamping only 8 miles from the capital. How was Maldev to send him away. Politician as he was, Maldev let his intentions be known. Rai Mal Soni, Hamayun's jeweller, thereupon sent a messenger to him at Kaul-i-Jogi to tell him that there was no hope from Maldev. Meanwhile Mulla Surkh who had once been Hamayun's Librarian and was now in service with Maldev, probably in charge of his Persian secretariate, also wrote to the Emperor to Kaul-i-Jogi to tell Hamayun that Maldev was entertaining Sher Shah's envoy and that he had better not trust him.[38]

Maldev wanted to frighten away Hamayun; but he had no intentions of delivering him into Sher Shah's hands as the latter's envoy had demanded. He had therefore to convince Sher Shah's representative that he was in earnest in his intention not to help Hamayun so that Sher Shah may be induced to withdraw from Nagor. He ordered therefore that Shams-ud-Din and Mir Samand, Hamayun's two envoys, be carefully watched.[39] This frightened them all the more. They slunk away from Jodhpur one fine morning escaping the none too careful vigilance of Maldev's guards. Maldev connived at their escape so that they were in time to warn Hamayun and persuade him into moving away; and that was exactly what Maldev intended.[40]

36. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Namah, I, 180; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
37. Akbar Namah, I, 180.
38. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206.
39. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 206.
40. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206.

Shams-ud-Din reached Kaul-i-Jogi and there told Hamayun of the danger of waiting any longer for Maldev's answer. Hamayun at once struck camp and left Kaul-i-Jogi.[41]

But now that Maldev had fallen in with Sher Shah's views, his representatives demanded more. He asked Maldev to pursue Hamayun so that he may not escape. Maldev appeared to fall in with this view, but so delayed the sending of his men that Hamayun had put many miles between him and his pursuers before Maldev's troops started in pursuit.

Hamayun had set out for Amarkot this time. His way lay through a country which his men hardly knew. It was necessary therefore to obtain guides. Two villagers who were found riding their camels close by were brought in. A Kazi from Hamayun's camp explained to them that they would best serve their interests if they faithfully guided the imperial party to Amarkot. All his persuasions however failed to make them consent to take up this unpleasant task, and they declared that they knew nothing about the road Hamayun wanted to travel by. At this they were made prisoners and threatened with death. This was too much for them and they soon managed to escape their captors. Dagger in hand they fell upon their guard and killed him, and, before the Emperor knew what was happening, they had stabbed seventeen living beings, men, women and beasts. But two men could not after all hold up the whole imperial cavalcade; they were surrounded and put to death.[42] This daredevilry of two Rathors increased the Emperor's distress. Many of his followers deserted him[43] and the lack of riding beasts created difficulties of its own. Even Hamayun was without a mount till one of his followers offered him his own on which his mother was riding.[44] Hamayun now told off some of his men to cover his own retreat and ward off any attack that may be made.[45]

The cavalcade at last passed Phalodi and reached Satalmir. But meanwhile the covering party had got separated from the main body in the dark. They remained wandering all night. When the dawn was approaching, Hamayun's main body discovered they were being followed. Their pursuers at last came up with Hamayun's stragglers near Satalmir. Their number has

41. Jauhar, 37.
42. Jauhar, 38; Hamayun Namah, 55, 56; Jauhar, 38.
43. Jauhar, 41,42.
44. Hamayun Namah, 56.
45. Hamayun Namah, 57.

been put at 1,500 by Jauhar, but even Abul Fazal did not give credence to his story. Hamayun's covering party numbered less than ten, the two parties met as the Rajputs were issuing forth from the mouth of a pass. Hamayun's men under Shaikh Ali were able to check their advance and after a show of earnestness the Rajputs retired with some loss.[46] It is preposterous to assume that these soldiers whom the Mughals were able to put to flight even though at the mouth of a pass, were Maldev's soldiers sent in hot pursuit of Hamayun. Of course it is possible that to beguile Sher Shah into the belief that he was earnest in his desire to head of, if not capture Hamayun, Maldev may have sent a detachment of his soldiers. But to say that 1,500 soldiers of his were put to flight by a group of half a dozen Mughals is to put too much strain on our faith. Of course it is possible that Maldev may have sent a detachment of 1,500 soldiers in pursuit. Anyhow the covering party now overtook the main body of Hamayun's followers.

They now marched into Jaisalmer. Here two representatives from Rawal Karn's court met them demanding that Hamayun ceased injuring the feelings of the Hindu inhabitants of these places by killing cows in this Hindi territory. They further submitted that his uninvited passage through their territory was disturbing the peace of their country. Hamayun unwisely detained these two envoys to find when he reached the capital that the water supply was being guarded by the Raja's men. After some hours' skirmish the Raja's men withdrew defeated, and Hamayun's men were able to have their fill of water at Jaisalmer.[47]

But Maldev, the son of the Raja of Jaisalmer, had been sent by his father to make the progress of Hamayun difficult. He had filled the wells on their way with sand and it was with great difficulty that Hamayun's men obtained water after three days' hard marching. So great was their distress on the march that one morning on awakening Hamayun found his sword drawn by somebody who must have been thinking of putting an end to Hamayun as the author of all their distress and who was disturbed in his designs by Hamayun's early rise. On the fourth

46. Akbar Namah, I, 181; Tabaqat, 206; Hamayun Namah, 57, 58. Jauhar, 39.

47. Akbar Namah, I, 181; Jauhar 39, 40; Tarikh--i-Hindo Sindh, 283.

day they reached water. Here another son of Rawal Karn approached Hamayun and complained of his excesses demanding the release of the two ambassadors sent earlier by the Rawal. Hamayun consented thereto and he was supplied with means of drawing water from the wells, where he was encamping.[48]

At last on August 23, 1542, Hamayun reached Amarkot where he was well received and rendered thanks to God that he had escaped safe from the unlucky desert of Rajputana.[49]

Hamayun's privations must have loomed all the larger as his young wife Hamida Banu Begum was pregnant. It was at Amarkot that Akbar was born. Thus to the dangers of the desert must have been added the ever haunting fear for the child yet to be born.

Akbar was born on November 23, 1542,[50] though Abul Fazal tried to confuse his readers as to the exact date of his birth. One would expect that when Akbar became the Emperor in 1556, he would naturally bear some animus against the Rajput chiefs who had opposed his father's march in the desert, especially Rao Maldev who is credited with having played false to his father by some of the Persian historians. Akbar no doubt—or rather Bairam Khan in his name—made haste to attack Maldev's dominions soon after his accession and conquered Ajmer, Jeteran and Nagor[51] from him. But this was all in the day's work and part of the scheme of expansion on which Bairam Khan had set his heart. No narrative of these events suggests that Akbar attacked Maldev's territories on account of the incidents of 1542. Abul Fazal is discreetly silent and so are other Persian historians. Rajput chronicles as well do not try to explain Akbar's attack on Maldev's territories by any reference to earlier events. It is possible of course that Bairam Khan instigated these attacks on Maldev's, by reminding Akbar of his father's wanderings in the desert in 1542 in his territories. This may explain the enmity of Maldev towards Bairam Khan after his fall when Bairam Khan was trying to slip off to Gujrat, but had to change his route on hearing that Maldev intended disputing his passage through his territories to Gujrat.[52]

48. Jauhar, 41, 42.
49. Akbar Namah, I, 182; Jauhar, 41; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 283.
50. Jauhar, 43; Akbar Namah, I, 18.
51. Akbar Namah, II, 46, 66, 124 to 126; Nensi (Jodhpur) pp. 117, 123, 118.
52. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Badayuni, II, 34; Maosir-l-Umra, II, 378.

We cannot therefore resist the conclusion that Hamayun had to thank himself for the cold welcome that he received in Jodhpur; that Maldev simply wanted to frighten him away from his own territory when he had become a danger to the safety of his own state; and that the pursuit by the Rajput soldiers was feigned in order to convince Sher Shah that Maldev did not intend to harbour the royal fugitive. Akbar's attitude towards Maldev as well does not seem to bear out any suggestion that he bore him any ill-will for Hamayun's self-invited privations in the desert of Rajputana.

AUTHORITIES.

Maldev's rise to prominence can be studied in Nensi's chronicle of Jodhpur, Mundhyar chronicle, and Kaviraj's chronicle described by the present writer in the *Modern Review*, April, 1923, as the "Three Chronicles of Marwar'. These are in MSS and the writer has quoted from copies in private possession at Jodhpur. R. B. Pt. Gori Shankar H. Ojha has a very good copy of Kaviraj's chronicle.

On the Persian side the narrative is based on Jauhar's Memoirs. I have cited the Lal Chand Library transcript of the MS in the library of the Muslim University of Aligarh. As Stewart's translation does not mention Hamayun's going any further than one march from Phalodi, I consulted the MS in the Victoria Museum Library at Udaipur as well. The Aligarh and the Udaipur MSS agree in mentioning that Hamayun reached Kaul-i-Jogi.

Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh of Ma'asum is another authority that describe's Hamayun's journey. It is still in MS. I have cited the MS in the Victoria Museum Library, Udaipur.

Akbar Namah (Calcutta), Hamayun Namah, (London), Tabaquat-i-Akbari (Lucknow), Muntikhib-ut-Tavarikh (Calcutta) tell the story from the Persian side and can be studied in the standard editions of the Persian Text as noted in brackets. Abbas is silent as to Sher Shah's movements in Jodhpur. I consulted the MS copy in Punjab Public Library, Lahore. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan as well tells us nothing.

Dr. Tessitori's Report of the Progress of Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana (J. A. S. B., 1916, No. 3) contains a history of Phalodi based on a contemporary ballad.

Of secondary authorities Erskine and Leyden's History of India under Babur and Hamayun describes Hamayun's march into Jodhpur in detail. Qanungo's Sher Shah, his note in the 'Journal of Indian History' (Allahabad) as well have a brief outline of the journey to and from Phalodi. Mr. Rao, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, contributed an article in Hindi on Maldev to Madhuri. The present article attempts to revise and supplement these earlier accounts in the light of the MS printed material, Persian as well as Hindi. Tod's Annals also mention this fateful journey accusing Maldev of inhospitality and worse.

Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)

BY

MR. W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

1626

February (January blank). On 2nd, Harman van Spult arrived from Batavia with three State ships, *Mauritius*, *Orange* and *Hollandia*, which had come through the Strait of Magellan; off Goa they had taken a Portuguese vessel laden with provisions from Muskat. Spult had ~~should not be~~ orin at Calicut, and been well received. I wish he ews from Sultâ pepper all the cash consigned to me from Batavia the Governor K iven a large profit here, and still more in Mocha. he took more thanper which the English buy here comes overland e same day I sta

ect the factori

On 3rd, went on boara, and next day landed with Governor Spult. On 8th, heard that seven galleons and four small vessels were at anchor off the river. As the identity of the ships was uncertain, it was decided that Governor Spult and all the sailors who were on land should go aboard. Half way to Swally he met Sebolt Wonderar, senior factor on the *Bantam*, from whom he learnt that it was the Dutch and English fleet from Persia. Our ships brought 352 bales of silk, the English not more than 70 bales. 'Heard that Ruy Freire d'Andrada with 14 frigates, had burnt the English *Lion* off Gombroon,[1] and after a short imprisonment had thrown the prisoners, 43 in all, overboard in cold blood, all except one English butler who had done him a good turn during his imprisonment—I mean, had had them all beheaded, because, at the capture of Ormuz, the English had not kept their word, but had handed over some Portuguese to the Persians, who had forthwith massacred them'. On 10th, we resolved that, if the English would help, our fleet should sail to Bombay to attack the enemy; we referred to the English but got no answer as yet. The 11th, 12th and 13th were spent in correspondence with the English, who finally offered to send the *Anne* and *Falcon*. Returned to Surat in the evening.

1 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xv, and *passim*.

On 14th, learned from the banyan merchants that all the Portuguese ships had left Bombay. Decided to provide our ships with their most urgent requirements. The *Mauritius*, which was very leaky, was beached. On 25th, our caravan of 685 camels arrived from Agra under senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour. On 28th, Governor Spult started with Cornelis at Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach. Sent Vapour with him, because he was better acquainted with the customs of the country; I accompanied him as far as Broach.

March. On 5th, I returned to Surat, where I heard the Portuguese ships were again at Bombay. From 6th to 15th, busy in loading the ships for Europe and Batavia. In the evening, President Kerridge and senior factor Mr. Wylde came to visit me, and purposed that, since the Portuguese were again at Bombay and Dīū, and it was too late in the [illegible] and our ships must winter somewhere, they should the writer had, and sent with the English ships to destroy the B. Pt. Gori Shan rged that if this was not done, we must expect ning year. I answered that there was not time t ative is based on Ja' or Spult. On 16th, I transcript of the M went on board with the A. Stewart's tra a. Next day the English *James* and *Jonas* left the anchora On 18th, I returned to Surat. The English President sent me word that they had decided to wait till Governor Spult returned. In the afternoon our caravans from Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach reached Rānder.[2] On 23rd, Governor Spult returned to Surat, along with a caravan of 45 camels from Agra, bringing saltpetre and carpets. On 24th, the Moslems insisted that our ships should convoy the King's ship beyond all danger from the Portuguese: in the afternoon we all went on board to settle the matter. On 29th, news came that on the 17th there had been such an earthquake at Pattan, 40 kos from Ahmadābād, that more than 250 houses were destroyed, and many more than 180 people killed.

April. [The printed text mentions that Spult authorised an extension of Van den Broeke's appointment for two years.] On 1st, the King's great ship, the *Ganjūr* sailed. Having taken friendly leave of all, Governor Spult went on board, and the same day the *Orange*, *Mauritius* and *Hollandia* moved out. On 4th, all our ships moved to the river-mouth, where the *Haayi*, the other Surat ship for Mocha, was anchored. In the evening the English followed us. On 8th, the *Haayi* sailed for Mocha. About midday I

2 Rānder, on the right bank of the Tapti, was used at this period as a depot for export-goods arriving by way of Broach, so as to avoid two crossings of the river.

left the ships with two boats, and on 9th, after great difficulty and danger I landed at the river mouth, and returned to Surat. On 10th, the ships sailed as follows: *Bantam, Heusden,* and the prize *Jacynth* for Batavia; *Good Fortune, Golden Lion, Mauritius, Hollandia, Orange, Walcheren,* and the English *Bear* for Mocha. On 19th, I sent the caravan of cloves, nutmegs, mace, etc., to Agra under Francisco Pelsert and Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour. 'God grant that the goods may be sold profitably, and the proceeds return in good indigo and saltpetre'! The English also sent under our protection 30 camels with cloves which had come as private trade from Bantam and Batavia. On 28th Jan Moris, our barber, married the widow of the deceased Armenian, Koja Nami; she was a Persian woman with one child. 'I gave her six hundred guilders of my own as a dowry, because she was a Christian, and [so that] she and her little son should not become Moslem again.

May. On 3rd, news from Sultān Khurram that he had plundered the caravan of the Governor Khān Jahān, which was taking women to Agra; he took more than 500,000 rupees, and let the van proceed. The same day I started for Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach to inspect the factories and re-start business, having raised much money by borrowing. On 11th, a Portuguese frigate from Bassein was flying the Prince's [i.e., Dutch] flag at Cambay; I made the owner haul it down, and he came to me to apologise. On 19th, a Moslem vessel left Surat for Achin. On 25th, the first rain fell at Surat. On 28th, the vessel for Achin returned, having met foul weather off Damān. On 29th, Bābū Alī, the Governor, arrested us when we were about to leave Cambay wishing us first to give satisfaction for the Malabar vessel captured by the *Good Fortune* [vide November, 1625]. To avoid worse trouble, gave him 400 rupees in settlement.

June. On 2nd, arrived safely in Surat. In the evening Jam Qulī Beg, the new Governor, entered the town. On 3rd, 'at sunset a handsome banyan woman, about 13 or 14 years old, the wife of a wealthy money-changer, while in a narrow lane, was blindfolded with a cloth from behind by a Moslem servant, and then, with threats not to cry out or make a noise, was brought through another street into a dark room in a house, where she was disgracefully violated [3] for three days and nights, being blindfolded by

3 The text has an expression which usually means 'severely criticised'; that in this passage it is used in another sense appears from the marginal note 'disgracefully violated'; and something of the sort is needed to explain the incident.

day and in darkness by night. She fell sick, because she could not eat; and at last she was blindfolded again late in the evening, and brought back to the same place where she had been seized, without knowing anything of her captor. When she got home she complained bitterly, so that it came to the ears of the Sheriff [probably for Kotwāl], who at once had her arrested. He wanted to know who had done it, and where; she told him all that had happened; he did not believe her, and had the innocent woman severely flogged with great whips, though she had seen nothing and could not tell. Moreover, her husband and her father had to pay 1,500 rupees to get her out of prison. From this one can sufficiently see what violence and law the Moslem brutes employ towards strangers. The woman's father was our money-changer, named Castenji Parck'.

On 10th, heard that the Moslem ship *Saya* had been driven off Chaul in a storm, but most of the cargo saved. On 11th, heard that Hari[4] Bessi's frigate, coming from Basra, had been lost in a storm off the coast of Sind. On 18th, [heard that] two ships from Dĭū for Mocha had been driven back to the Indian coast and one of them lost, as was a ship coming from Achin with elephants, sandalwood, Perak tin, pepper, and other spices. On 19th, news that the Portuguese fleet, after weathering a great storm on the course for Mocha, had reached Goa after losing one galleon: also, that a Dabhol ship for Mocha had been driven back; further, that two frigates had returned disabled. Moreover two Portuguese frigates from Chaul for Balsar had been driven back. In fact, this year one heard of nothing but disasters at sea. On 21st, the child of Sebastian Fiorino[5], the Italian, was baptised by our Dominie [Chaplain], David Symonssen, and named Camilla, in the house of Schander Beck [? Sikander Beg] the Armenian; I was godfather, and Angela, the wife of Jadagar, was godmother. On 24th, news arrived that Sultān Khurram, with 30,000 horse and 250 elephants, was coming to Surat, because of its reputation for wealth. 'Everyone began to flee; the leading men sent their wives to Damān, some of them to Balsar and Broach, and brought their most valuable goods and treasure into the fort'. The Dutch decided to remain in the factory, and when Khurram came near, to meet him with a small present.

4 Presumably the merchant Harī Vaisya, who appears *passim* in *EF.* iii, as 'Hurry Buzzy' and otherwise.

5 An independent merchant, who is mentioned occasionally in *EF.* i, iii.

July. On 29th, I went to visit the Persian Ambassador, and found President Kerridge there, ready to go out with him to enjoy themselves. They pressed me to join them, and I agreed. [In the evening, Kerridge became quarrelsome, and there was something like a fight, but the account is almost unintelligible].

August. On 13th, Mīr Jān, Sultān Parvīz' new Governor, came to Surat from Burhānpur. On 18th, the Governor invited us to a meal, and gave me a fine horse; 'would have liked to decline it, but he forced me to take it'.

September. On 9th, my boy, Jacop Widt [? White] died. He was about 15 years old, born in Scotland. On 26th, a Moslem ship sank off the river. She was bound for Achin with horses for the King. On 28th, Āsaf Khān's ship sailed for Achin with large quantities of cotton goods. On 29th, heard that six Portuguese galleons and six frigates had come from Muskat, and were off Bombay.

October. On 6th, the *Ganjūr* arrived from Mocha. Brought us bad news that Governor Harman van Spult had died, and been buried at Mocha. Our ships had sailed thence on 20th August. On 8th, 'when I was sitting with the Governor, a baby was brought which had been dropped by an Arabian goat in the house of Khoja Jalāluddīn, the Shāhbandar. Out of decorum it was not shown to us; but it was shown to our servants, and it was exactly like a woman's baby and was white. It lived for only one hour; it was supposed that one of his boys had been with the goat, therefore it was kept quiet'. On 9th, heard that the Portuguese fleet was off Damān. On 13th, the Dutch and English fleets arrived off the river. Went on board, and found they were our ships from Mocha. The *Good Fortune* had been lost, guns and all, through foul weather. The other ships were six from England, with Captain Bly [really, Brown] in command; near the Comoros they had met the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin.* On 16th, we decided that the fleet should put to sea again, to protect our ships expected from Holland and Batavia against the Portuguese. On 18th, after giving instructions to the ships, I returned to Surat with President Kerridge.

November. On 2nd, when I was at Rander, heard that our ships were again off the river, with Commander Ketssiens and the *Z.Zee* [? *South Sea*] and *Wapen van Zeeland* from Batavia, and the English pinnace *Cristopher* from Bantam. On the *Wapen van Zeeland* was Constantyn Alleman and his wife, Maria Gomes, who

had leave to go to Persia. '*Note* that these ships, with the others, had been in Bombay, which they had utterly destroyed[6], obtaining thereby great fame among the Moslems and fear among the Portuguese'. On 3rd, Commander Kitsseins landed with some factors. Pieter Schoutens of Zeeland, junior factor, died. On 11th, I landed, having put everything in order. A salute of seven guns was fired as I left the ship, and one of the shots fell in the house of the *muqaddam* of Swally, causing no small complaint; the affair was settled with a small present before it was reported to the Governor. On 20th, I again landed, and ordered them not to salute, but they did so, and hit a Koli boy in Swally village, taking his leg off. Again there was no little trouble; 'if it had been a Moslem instead of a Hindu, it would have cost the Hon'ble Company thousands'.

December. On 13th, news came suddenly that Sultān Khurram was coming to Surat, and had already reached Anklesar. On 14th, the rumour persisted, and most of the leading inhabitants ran away, putting their valuables in the fort; some of the great men pressed me to bring three or four well-armed boats up the river, so as to rescue people in case of need, and I consented. Early on 15th, four Dutch and four English boats arrived off the fort. In the afternoon heard that the Prince had passed. Next day sent the boats back: at the river mouth they had a fight with some Malabars, whom they drove off. 'They would certainly have captured one or two if the English had helped, but they went on ahead, as the English custom is'. On 25th, the *Golden Lion, Walcheren,* and *Orange,* under command of Jan Curstens, sailed for Holland; the English *Cristopher,* for Batavia; the *South Sea, Wapen van Zeeland, Mauritius, Hollandia,* and the English *Bear,* under Kitsiens for Persia.

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January. On 7th, heard that 'the Moslem brutes of Broach had had Jacop van Oudenvliet moved[7] for the second time since his death'. On 16th, the English got 11 powderkegs, out of the 200 brought by our ships, passed through the customhouse as cloves, weighing net 28¾ *pakka* maunds[8] (of 60 Holland pounds); no fall

6 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xx, and *passim.*
7 Presumably there were difficulties about the location of the grave.
8 This is the Jahāngīrī maund of about 66 lb.

in the price of cloves resulted. On 19th, Jacop Alberssen van der Graff, junior factor, arrived from Agra by way of Burhānpur with a caravan of 243 camels; they had been just two months on the way. On 25th, started to inspect the factories at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadābād.

February. On 16th, Doctor Romanus arrived from Agra by way of Ahmadābād with 240 bales of saltpetre on carts, after experiencing much difficulty and danger owing to the war. On 21st, I sent junior factor van der Graff, along with junior factor Solomon [illegible], with 160 camels carrying cloves, mace and nutmeg, to senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour at Agra by way of Burhānpur. 'The same day died a beautiful Arab horse of mine worth 1,200 guilders, which had sometimes unseated me'.

March. On 18th, assistant Issack Scholliers was married to Mariken, daughter of Jadagar the Armenian. 'I gave 600 guilders as a dowry, because I regarded her as my daughter'. On 19th, our ships arrived from Persia with six English ships. Ours brought 602 bales of silk, and a few Persian merchants as passengers; the English brought many. On 21st, my junior factor Paulus Stigel of Nuremberg was married to the daughter of the late Khoja Raffial, the Armenian. 'I gave 400 rupees or 500 guilders because I had regarded her also as my daughter'. On 25th, I went to inspect the *Wapen van Zeeland,* and found her too leaky to sail for Batavia: decided to break her up. Decided also to send the *Hollandia* with the other for Batavia, being unfit to go home. On 30th, Alī Akbar's ship sailed for Mocha.

April. On 10th, after I had sent my letters and books on board, the English ships sailed without once speaking to us. On 11th, our ships also sailed. On 27th, a ship belonging to Āsaf Khān arrived from Achin, with much tin and benzoin, some nutmegs and 200 maunds of cloves (the latter very old).

May. On 12th, 51 carts containing 284 bales of indigo arrived from senior factor Francisco Pelsert's caravan; his camels had been forcibly seized by the wife of Prince Parvīz. On 20th, Francisco Pelsert arrived, very ill, from Agra. On 30th, I started for Broach with cash, as the factory was out of funds; I took a strong party because the roads were very unsafe.

June. On 10th, the cloves which had come from Achin were sold for 157 mahmūdīs the maund of 30 Holland pounds. On 11th, got letters from Ahmadābād saying President Kerridge had brought the price of indigo from 13 up to 15 rupees, the reason being that Domenick, Constantyn Alleman's brother, had bought a small lot for him, and this was supposed to be for our Company.

July. On 12th, the first rain fell.

September. (August blank). On 22nd, the Governor of Olpad invited me to 'mommannien' [*mihmānĭ*], or a pleasure party. He gave me a horse. On 23rd, a Moslem vessel arrived from Mocha; Martin Geliners of Brabant, a diamond-cutter by trade, told us the whole of Arabia was in turmoil—Turks against Arabs.

October. On 1st, two Moslem ships left for Achin. On 4th, my trumpeter Hendrick Hendrickxssen died, and was buried outside the Broach gate. On 11th, six English ships arrived from Batavia. They had been to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands to meet their ships from England, but, getting no news, came on here.

November. On 2nd, Mĭr Mūsa, the rogue of a Governor of Cambay, with the chief men of the town, came to visit our house; that meant a present according to the custom of the country. On 4th, when I was at Rānder to take leave of Mĭr Mūsa, who was going to Ahmadābād, heard that eight Dutch ships from Batavia were in the roadstead. The Governor gave me a horse, a gold chain, 18 gold mohurs, and a cloth-of-gold cloak worked with velvet. On 6th, I went on board the ships, which had come to the anchorage. They were—*Mauritius,* (with William Janssen of the Council of India on board), *Dordrecht, North Holland, Landts Mauritius, Zeepardt* (*Sea-horse*), *Bommel* and *Wesp,* with the sloop *Nierwien.* 'They brought a handsome cargo and (thank God!) cash'. The factor Dirck van der See came on this fleet as Commissary to inspect the factories under orders from Holland. On 13th, senior factor Wollebrant Gelynssen brought the caravans from Ahmadābād and Broach to Rānder, where our other goods were collected. On 17th, the outgoing Governor of Broach sent me a present of nine *bāftas* and nine *allegias*[9], asking me to remain his friend and not to forget him. The same day the English sold cloves for 120 mahmūdĭs the maund of 30½ Holland pounds, 'being 100 mahmūdĭs less than I sold for in the year '22'. On 20th, Cornelis van [?] Bonjowse, secretary to Commander Willem Janssen, died of a self-inflicted wound, and was buried on land. On 26th, a caravan of saltpetre from Agra reached Rānder. On 28th, after great difficulty with presents, etc., our goods at Rānder were passed and sealed, and at once loaded on carts for Swally. Jam Qulĭ Beg, the Governor of Surat, ordered us in the King's name not to despatch the goods until he had placed the King's seal on them, but he allowed them to go forward on a promise that they would not be shipped until they had been sealed.

9 *Bāfta* was the trade-name for Gujarāt calico; *allegia* (with varied spelling) was a fancy stuff, usually woven of mixed silk and cotton.

December. On 1st, our goods were allowed to be shipped after much trouble and many fair promises, costing more than 300 reals. On 2nd, Commander Willem Janssen went on board, because he could no longer stand the importunities of the Moslems regarding freight-goods, which would have delayed the ships for 10 or 15 days, almost to the end of the season. On 4th, 'heard that the Great Mogul [Jahāngīr] was dead; there was much commotion among the people in consequence. The Governor sent six soldiers and a keg of powder to our factory in case of an attack by the Rājputs, who were already beginning to plunder; I sent the soldiers back, with a message that he should allow some of our seamen to come, knowing as I did that in such circumstances the Moslems are not entirely trustworthy'. On 9th, 'Saiyid Nūrdīn, Faujdār of Pattan, formerly Governor of the Surat fort, performed a Roman deed[10]. With four men of his own he went into the fort to the Governor Jam Qulī Beg, who was sitting alone in his room, [and] after a short conversation took hold of him by the body, and compelled him to hand over the fort for Sultān Khurram, the new king; which he did willingly, being overpowered'. On 10th, five ships arrived from England under Captain Hall—the *Mary*, *Hart*, *Star*, *Hopewell* and *Refuge*. They brought an ambassador to the King of Persia—'milord' [Sir Dodmore] Cotton[11], with Sir Robert Sherley and his wife. The Persian ambassador [Naqd Alī Beg] died a day before the ships arrived, and was buried at Swally. On 11th, the last of our goods were sealed, and Commissary van der See and everybody else belonging to the ships went on board. On 14th, I went on board to despatch the ships. 'Just as I did so, news came that some of Sultān Khurram's people were in Surat, and wanted 100,000 rupees from our factory immediately. Hearing this, I proceeded immediately to Surat, and thence to the Prince himself. I presented him with a fine Persian horse, two pieces of scarlet cloth, a valuable jewel to wear in his turban, and some other trifles. This pleased him very greatly, because I was the very first to bring him a present. I had him asked if it was with his approval that his people wanted 100,000 rupees from us. He said No, but he must have 5,000 rupees, and not more, on account of his tolls; and that I must stay with him till next day. I would gladly have excused myself, because the *Dordrecht* was ready to leave for home, but nevertheless I had to stay till next day. Then he gave me a

10 A Dutch phrase, signifying an exploit worthy of a Roman.
11 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xxii, and *passim*.

horse and a new *farmān*. Finally having taken my leave of his Majesty, and of his General, Muqarrab [printed text, Mahābat] Khān, who also gave me a horse, I went on board again on the morning of the 16th'. The *Dordrecht* was already under sail: Francisco Pelsert was senior factor on board, and Adriaen Jacopssen was master. On 19th, our ships left for Persia under command of Willem Janssen.

On 23rd, I sent the senior factors, Adam Classen to Ahmadābād, and Wollebrant Gelynssen to Broach, with 70,000 rupees in cash, because there would have been so much loss in exchange. Because of the Rājputs I sent 12 Dutchmen well-armed as escort. On 24th, the Surat fort was delivered to Sultān Khurram, who was proclaimed King. On the same day he made his entry into Ahmadābād, where he arrested Safī Khān, and robbed him of all his property, which was great. On 27th, I went on board the English ships to ask President Kerridge about the return[12] of our men who were on board. He gave me a peevish answer, with which I had to return; but first I went to Captain Johnson's ship, where I understood there were eight or ten men. I found nobody; they said four had jumped overboard when they saw us coming. Eventually two men and a boy came, and I offered to forgive them everything if they would return to us. They said frankly they did not want to serve our ships any more, and complained bitterly of the master of the North Stories *nd;* so I had to return to Surat without getting anyone back. Gelynthe four English ships left for Persia with their Ambassador to Rānder he same day, heard that five French soldiers had deserted outgoing ortuguese from our ships which had sailed to Daman. nine *alle*

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January. On 1st, President Kerridge sent me a letter offering to let our deserters return, and I sent a civil reply. On 2nd, I sent factors Coetermans and Orlande to see if the deserters would return to our service, but it was useless, 'because they had been hidden and incited, and bought over by the English,' who were short of men. On 4th, our men returned without having effected anything. On 20th, the English *Palsgrave, Dolphin* and *Discovery* sailed for England.

12 Desertion was one of the causes of friction between Dutch and English at this time. Owing to the high mortality, trained seamen were scarce in the East, and there was evidently some 'poaching' by both sides. The diary, of course, gives only the Dutch aspect of the matter; see *EF.* iii. 214.

February. On 2nd, the remaining English ships sailed, one for Dabhol, the other for Batavia, with Sebastian Fiorino, the Venetian, on board.

March. On 2nd, three English ships returned from Dabhol.[13] They had intended to trade there, but the inhabitants would not trust them any more, because they had been deceived twice; they wanted to get pepper in exchange for coral. The Surat merchants rejoiced greatly at the failure. In the evening the Persian Ambassador arrived from Golconda; he wished to go to Persia on our ships. On 7th, our ships arrived from Ormuz, bringing Ishāq Beg, who was formerly Governor of Surat. I went to bring him on land with great respect; on 9th, he was welcomed with much honour in Surat. On 11th, Commissary Van der See started to inspect the factories at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadābād. On 12th, the *North Holland* was beached to see if she could be repaired, but she broke her back as soon as she touched ground. On 21st, four English ships sailed for an unknown destination; and the great *Say* sailed for Mocha. On 26th, I sent the *Bommel* and *Wesp* to the river-mouth to take in cargo for Mocha more conveniently. On 30th, the Commissary returned from his inspection.

April. On 1st, the *Bommel* and *Wesp,* under command of Job Cristianssen Grip, sailed for Mocha, to return at the proper season by way of Ormuz, and bring the silk which might be ready, and then go home with the cargo available in Surat. In the evening the *Exchange* also sailed for Mocha. On 4th, Anthonny, son of the late master, Panckras, died, and was buried outside the Broach gate. On 6th, the King's ship returned from Mocha, with much gold and silver, said to be worth 1,200,000 guilders. On 7th, at the request of the Governor, I sent the *Landts Mauritius* to the river-mouth to protect some Moslem ships against the Portuguese and Malabars. Jan van Leuwarden, a Frieslander, one of my bodyguard, died in the evening. On 8th, went on board to despatch the ships, so that they might be ready for the first favourable wind. Jan, youngest son of master Panckras, died. On 19th, a Gujarāt ship returned from Achin, bringing tin, cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandalwood, etc.

On 22nd, went on board to discuss the situation. The *Great Mauritius,* drawing 23 feet, could not come out with the prevailing wind without great danger; the season was passing, and the Council had decided that the *Sea horse* and *Landts Mauritius* should

13 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xxvi, and *passim.*

sail for Batavia, leaving the *Great Mauritius* to remain here fully laden for the rainy season. Considering this to be highly inadvisable, I urged that, as it was very calm, the ship should be warped out, as had been done several times in the case of large English ships. This was accomplished successfully with the help of a light breeze; on 24th, Easter Day, went ashore highly satisfied, and by the evening the ships were out of sight. On 25th, the English *William* sailed, with Mr. Kerridge on board, leaving Mr. Richard Wylde in his place; cargo, over 800 bales Persian silk, good indigo from Agra, fine cotton goods, Malabar pepper and saltpetre. They had allured 20 or 21 men from our ships with fair promises. On 7th [? 27th], a ship arrived from Achin. 'Andries Janssen, butler, married one of my slaves named Anne, who had previously been baptised as a Christian; gave her 200 reals of eight as a dowry.'

May. On 1st, all the great men and merchants of Surat requested the Governor to rob and plunder our factory here, and everywhere, because one of our ships from the Coromandel Coast had taken one of their ships off Ceylon, allowing another, which had a pass from me, to go free. A pinnace, which had no pass, escaped, and reached here safely. The Governor, being my friend, replied that he could not allow our house to be pillaged until the facts were established. On 5th, a Brabant man named Martin [*vide* September, 1627], who had foolishly run away from us, although he had been well treated, returned from Damān. When he arrived there he was questioned by the Governor and Captain, and told them he was a free man and a diamond-cutter, and that he had come to India overland through Arabia to earn his living, and had no connection with Commander Van den Broeke. On this he was allowed to eat and sleep with the soldiers. Next morning he walked with one of the Governor's servants to a riverside inn kept by a Portuguese mulatto, where he slept. During the night he got up without anyone knowing, swam across the river, and to everybody's surprise came back to us sorely discomfited.

On 6th, a small vessel arrived from Catsini at the entrance of the Red Sea, belonging to the King of that place, who sent me a letter and a piece[14] of *amviys* [?] in order to secure friendly treatment and assistance for his people. On 9th, a banyan carpenter, who was working for Symon the Frenchman in my garden, was given by him two or three cups of strong spirits, and

14 I do not recognise the word *amviys*, and suspect an error for amber.

next day before dawn he was dead. On 11th, our caravan arrived from Agra, having halted fully four months at Burhānpur. Assistant Johannes Romanus, who came with it, 'brought a female slave named Saffia, whom he had bought for me there. She was a white Georgian woman, very handsome, but cost more than 1,000 guilders merely in the shirt' [*i.e.*, 'as she stood'].

On 19th, the first rain fell, to the great surprise of the inhabitants. On 23rd, senior factor Anthonis Coetermans of Dordrecht passed away, aged about 27 years, intestate. On 29th the Governors Nāhir Khān and Khāfī Khān sent a letter from Ahmadābād, in which, as being my friends, they asked me to restore the ship[15] undamaged, in order to avoid discredit with the King. On 30th Mirza Muhammad, the Shāhbandar, came with others to arrive at a settlement, but this could not be arranged for want of information from Masulipatam.

June. On 20th, 'the Shāhbandar, with the Diwan of the customhouse, brought me a present of two *pamṙis* from the Governor, which was most surprising'.

July. On 26th, the customs authorities wanted to establish a new practice, or usage, with us and the English, viz, a *dastūri*, or compliment, of one per cent on all our imports and exports, to which we absolutely refused to consent'.

August. On 27th, heard that a vessel had reached Goga from Mocha.

September. On 6th August [*sic*] a vessel arrived from Hodeida in the Red Sea, and brought news that the *Bommel* and *Wesp* had left Mocha 18 days before them, but that the English *Blessing* was still there. The voyage took 22 days.

October. On 8th, our four ships, *Utrecht, Brouwers-haven, Sea-house,* and *Negapatam* (pinnace) arrived from Batavia, bringing Commander Jan van Hasel to succeed me, as my engagement had expired; he was accompanied by his wife and son. On 10th, went on board in order to bring on land with due ceremony the senior factor Jan Smidt, who had now been sent as Ambassador to Persia. Two English ships, *Jonas* and *Expedition,* arrived from England under Mr. Swanley. On 11th, Commander Hall arrived with six ships and two prizes from Madagascar and the Comoro Islands: one of the prizes had to be returned to the

15 Doubtless this is the ship mentioned under 1st May.

Cambay people. I landed with the ambassador, whose small retinue caused much surprise. On 14th, three English ships arrived from Batavia, and one from Mocha along with the *Bommel* and *Wesp*. In the evening Commander Gryp landed from Persia; he brought no silk from Gombroon. On 21st, an English constable's mate was run through and killed by one of our sailors. The English kept him and one or two others in custody on their ships, and demanded justice from us; I answered that they should deliver their prisoners to me to be suitably dealt with, and they were promptly sent on board. On 22nd, a pinnace arrived from Batavia with 12 chests of Rix dollars and Holland crowns, worth altogether more than 200,000 guilders, which came exceedingly handy, for the factory was out of cash. The factor Clynoy landed in the evening. On 23rd I went on board with Commander van Hasel and the rest of the Council to deal with the sailor who had killed the Englishman.

November. On 3rd we returned on board to deal with this offender. On 6th, when we were about to proceed with the execution, the English President came on board with all the captains, and pleaded for the offender, whose life we granted to them. The same day I was formally appointed as Commander of the Fleet; in the evening returned to Surat. On 21st, the English *Mary* left for Batavia, to go home from Bantam. Our caravans from Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach reached Rānder, for the goods to be sealed and then shipped.

December. On 2nd, I made over charge of my post as Director to Commander Van Hasel. On 5th, I despatched the pinnace *Seeborch* to Batavia with a handsome cargo of cotton goods. On 19th, Musa Beg, the Persian Ambassador, arrived from the Coromandel Coast, to travel to Persia on our ships. On 21st, the Portuguese *armada*, of 14 frigates, burnt an English frigate at the mouth of the river, where she had been sheathed; about 35 English were killed or burnt, including nearly all the carpenters of the fleet. They also captured four *sambuks* with goods for Persia belonging to the English. On 22nd, I left Surat, and went on board; and on 23rd, prepared to sail.

1629

January. On 3rd, our ships left the anchorage; on 5th, said good-bye to everybody; on 6th, sailed for Persia. [Details of the voyage omitted].

March. On 21st, the fleet, returning from Persia, was off Surat, and next day anchored at Swally. On 23rd went to Surat, and on 27th returned on board to administer justice. On 29th, various sentences were passed.

April. On 5th, the King's ship, which had been captured by the Dutch [*vide* May, 1628], arrived off Surat. On 16th in company with Commander van Hasel, I visited the Governor and all the principal Moslems of Surat to take friendly leave, and recommend my successor to them. Then returned on board, 'not without much mourning and lamentation among all the peasants and the common people of the town, so that for me it was an affecting occasion, the nation being so exceedingly fond of me.' On 18th, Frans Franssen was put overboard for having murdered Dirck Janssen, and various other sentences were carried out. On 19th, inspected all the ships. On 25th, accompanied Commander van Hasel and the factors beyond Swally, where we took leave of each other; returned on board, and sailed at once. We left behind the pinnace *Negapatam*, which was found to be unfit for the voyage, and was sold for 1,000 mahmūdīs to Wollebrant Gelynssen. Our cargo was invoiced at Guilders 1,194,473.

[The *Utrecht*, with Van den Broeke on board, reached Batavia on 19th June, and he remained there until December. On 15th, he was appointed Commander of the fleet for Holland, to sail on the *Utrecht;* the fleet sailed on 18th. A few details of the voyage are given, but the MS ends with the date 1st January, 1630. The printed text carries the diary on to his arrival in Holland in the following June].

[At the end of the MS is a family-record, the first part of which was copied in 1605 from a book kept by van den Broeke's father, while the rest was written by van den Broeke himself. The family lived at various places; the father was married in Antwerp in the year 1580, and was still there when Pieter was born on 25th February, 1585. Next year he was at Alkmaar; later he was living in Hamburg, and in 1598 he was in Amsterdam. He died in Hamburg, in 1613. The latter portion of the record will interest some students of social history].

On 1st May, 1628, my son Pieter was born in Surat of one of my slaves named Maria (previously Gādom Garri), a Rājput or Hindu. On 25th, the mother and child, with two other slaves of mine, were baptised by an English minister. The boy's godfather

was Commander Job Cristianssen Gryp, the godmother was Madellena, daughter of Skander Beg the Armenian. The mother was named Maria, the other two slaves were named Sofia and Anne.

On 5th October, one of my guards, Abraham Jacobssen of Delft, who came to the country as a soldier, married Maria, mother of my son Pieter. I gave 600 guilders in cash, and sufficient maintenance for him and the boy.

On 10th October, I heard that my daughter in Mocha had died five months before, at the age of ten years and a few days. The mother, who was a free Turkish woman, sent me the news by an Englishman and a Dutchman, with a handkerchief, and asked me kindly to come back. Her name is [an illegible alteration, perhaps Mariam] Issa ibn Solyman.

On 20th February 1629, while I was on the voyage to Persia, my other slave Sofia, whom I had freed, was delivered of a son. On 1st April, the boy was baptised by our Dominie Rogier Hendrickssen, and named Johan; Commander Gryp and senior factor Adam Classen Verhove were godfathers; the godmother was the wife of Commander van Hasel, who succeeded me as Director in Surat.

In Batavia, on 23rd September, my Seffia, formerly my slave, was married to a junior factor, Symon Remotter of Amsterdam, with a costly outfit of jewelry, clothes, entertainments, and cash for both his debts and her support. She is a Georgian, and a white Christian woman; from her childhood, when the Turks conquered Georgia, she was brought up by Moslems, and by good luck was bought for me from a Governor in Burhānpur for 1,200 guilders as she stood, and brought to me in Surat by the assistant Johannis Romanus.

[End of the MS.]

The Beginning of Mir Qasim's Disputes with the English.

By

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The disputes between Mir Qasim and the company's servants, which ultimately culminated in the downfall of the former, assumed a serious character after the arrival of Mr. Ellis as Chief of the factory at Patna in November, 1761. The Nawab was then busy chastising the refractory zemindars of Bihar. His complaints against Ellis deserve close examination, because they were not only numerous, but sufficiently grave. It has been the fashion to condemn Ellis for his defiant attitude towards the Nawab; but the real explanation of the latter's prejudice against the former has generally been overlooked. Ellis was no doubt hot-headed, and impatient, but the Nawab was equally selfish, and vindictive, and deliberately aimed at removing the former from Patna by all possible means.

The Nawab could on no account have tolerated the presence of Ellis at Patna, and he needed only some plausible excuses for openly denouncing him. It must be remembered that the Nawab had procured the recall of Carnac and Coote in this very manner, and his previous success led him to adopt the same plan in regard to Ellis also. Little did he realise that on this occasion, his friend and patron, Mr. Vansittart, had no more the majority on his side in the Council, and so was powerless to punish Ellis in any way. The Nawab believed that he would be able to get Ellis removed—only if he persisted in complaining against him on some ground, or the other. The reasons why he bore a grudge against Ellis may thus be indicated:—

(i) It was the settled policy of the Nawab to stop all possible interference of the English officers in his government, and he consistently strove to render himself free from their dictation. So far he had been encouraged by Mr. Vansittart in the realisation of this object, and he now viewed with disgust the

attitude of Ellis who certainly did not acquiesce in the policy of allowing the Nawab to free himself absolutely from English control, and who seems to have been determined to oppose the policy of non-intervention;

(ii) The Nawab knew full well that Ellis had been an avowed opponent of the late revolution, and he, therefore, regarded him in no other light than as a personal enemy. He would thus be the last person to tolerate the latter's presence at Patna, especially because he intended to shift his permanent headquarters from Bengal to Bihar.

(iii) Ellis became further hateful to the Nawab when it was reported to him that a party of English officers including the former were plotting his overthrow, and trying to get the late revolution annulled by the Directors. Mr. Hastings wrote to the Governor on May 26, 1762, "He (i.e. the Nawab) has been told that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac have in their letters to their friends in England used every argument to procure an order from the Company to annul the measures taken in favour of him; and represented his character in the most hateful terms; that Mr. Fullarton was also charged to assist in person their project of deposing him; and that they have sworn together to his ruin; that they have discovered a flaw in his title to the *Subahship* from our treaty, etc., etc." A letter from the Directors received at this time was so vaguely worded that it was construed by Mr. Vansittart's opponents to be a disapprobation of the revolution. This too was duly reported to the Nawab who apprehended that Ellis would become a centre of attraction for all those who might be disaffected towards himself. The Nawab felt that he could not be safe so long as Ellis continued to stay at Patna; and,

(iv) The Nawab, it is clear, had determined to stop the private inland trade of the Company's servants, which he deemed to be a political danger to his government. The fact that Ellis furiously opposed the Nawab's officials in their attempt to impede this inland trade aroused the bitter indignation of the Nawab. Indeed, his quarrels with Ellis brought into sudden prominence the whole question of the inland trade, and the right of the Company's servants to exemption from the payment of duty.

It is evident from the above account that the Nawab regarded Ellis as a dangerous opponent, and only needed certain plausible arguments to make out a case against him. These arguments were soon supplied by some hasty, or tactless measures of Ellis. The Nawab did not fail to exploit them to the fullest extent, and Ellis insisted on vindicating what he regarded as his legitimate

rights. Thus, a serious misunderstanding grew, and this could never have ceased, unless one, or the other completely yielded. Neither could possibly have yielded, and, therefore, a reconciliation between the two was really impossible. As the Nawab's ultimate downfall was hastened by his quarrels with Ellis, these require some elucidation.

At the very outset Ellis was annoyed at the refusal of Rajballabh, the Naib of Patna, to receive a visit from him without orders from the Nawab,[1] although he himself had given the Naib a courteous reception when the latter came to see him.[2] This naturally excited the suspicion that Rajballabh must have been prohibited from being intimate with the new Chief whose appointment the Nawab had not welcomed.[3] It was only after the Governor had formally protested against the discourteous attitude of the Naib that the Nawab permitted the latter to wait on Ellis.[4]

The earliest act of Ellis, which aroused criticism, was the order to arrest an officer of the government named Munseram, on a complaint of a *'gumashtah'* of the factory.[5] The charge against Munseram was that he had stopped some opium belonging to Mr. Hay inspite of there being a regular *'dastak'* with it. This Ellis naturally regarded as a deliberate attack on English trade, and could never have forgiven it on any account. High-handed as his action might appear, it was certainly not a new thing for the Company's servants to punish the Nawab's people[6] when they obstructed English trade, and this practice had even been permitted in the time of Mir Jafar.[7] But Mir Qasim wanted to stop all this. Ellis, however, could not be condemned for an act which had neither been uncommon, nor illegal so far. It would, however, have been more considerate on his part, if he had informed the Nawab of this beforehand,—but his order was not executed by Capt. Carstairs who simply requested the Nawab[8] to reprimand the insolent *'harkarah'*.

1. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 434, p. 220.
2. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 435, p. 220.
3. Vansittart's Narrative, I p. 297, and Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 10.
4. Ibid.
5. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 297.
6. Scrafton's observations, p. 34.
7. Vide Mir Jafar's Sanad of 1757.
8. Letter from Capt. Carstairs to the Nawab, dated the 31st of Jan. 1762.

The Nawab's anger[9] knew no bounds when Ellis not only refused to consider his charges against Mr. Gray, chief of the factory at Malda, but accused Mir Sher Ali, the Naib at Purnea, and the local zemindars of gross insolence and misbehaviour.[10] It was certainly a fact that the Company's business had been too frequently impeded[11] by the Naib and his men, and numerous formal complaints[12] had been made to the Nawab but to no purpose. Mr. Hastings himself had complained[13] bitterly against a local zemindar. What Mr. Gray did was to arrest the latter's '*peshkar*' after he had vainly[14] asked for redress from the Naib. The Nawab's annoyance was due to the fact that he considered such actions of the Company's servants to be an unwarranted interference in his internal administration.

Then came the affair of Khwajah Antoine, which further intensified the Nawab's dislike to Ellis. Antoine was an officer of the government employed as a collector at Punchmahla in the district of Monghyr.[15] A '*gumashtah*' of the Company was taking some goods from the '*parganah*' of Mulky with a '*dastak*' from Ellis;[16] but Antoine told him that the Company's '*dastak*' was insufficient, and gave him another '*dastak*' under the seal of Syda Ram, Naib of Khwajah Gregory who held the lease of the 'ghats' in that part of the country.[17] Besides, the Armenian officer was also guilty of interference in the Company's salt-petre monopoly.[18] The facts of the case are these. Khwajah Gregory required five maunds of salt-petre, and he directed Antoine to secure it for him from the Company's '*nunias*'. Antoine sent for one of the latter, and compelled him to bring the said amount of salt-petre. This was secretly conveyed by him to Khwajah Gregory. One of the company's local *gumashtahs* protested against this, but

9. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 302.

10. Letter from the Nawab to Mr. Ellis, dated Jan. 22, 1762, and the reply from Mr. Ellis, dated Feb. 4, 1762, and Trans. P. L. I. 1762. Nos. 20, and 21. pp. 13-14.

11. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 431, p. 218.

12. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 432, p. 218.

13. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 21, p. 13.

14. Ibid. The Governor himself wrote to Mir Sher Ali on the subject, and requested him to punish the Zemindar, but the Naib paid no heed to it.

15. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 302.

16. Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council, dated Jan. 26, 1762.

17. Beng. Pub. Cons. 8th Feb. 1762.

18. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762, and Siyar, p. 715 (Lucknow Text).

Antoine insisted that he had every right to do so.[19] This was reported to Ellis who immediately put Antoine under arrest, and sent him to Calcutta for exemplary punishment.[20] At Calcutta, Antoine was examined by the Council, and he confessed that he did give the *dastak* of his master to enable the gumashtah to get the goods easily passed at the *ghats* belonging to him, and as regards the salt-petre, he admitted that a *'nunia'* of the *'Sarkar'* had asked him to purchase ten rupees worth of salt-petre which he secured from a 'nunia' of the Company.[21] The Nawab, however, resented the arrest of his subordinate, and strongly complained to Ellis saying,[22] "It ill became you to seize an officer of my Government". The point at issue was that Antoine had not only indirectly questioned the title of the Company's *dastak*, but had also definitely infringed its monopoly of salt-petre under the instructions of a high officer of the Government. Ellis was, therefore, on principle right when he demanded a signal punishment for this offence lest it should form a bad example to others. He was also justified in bringing this matter to the notice of the authorities at Calcutta. He also duly informed the Nawab of his action in this matter.[23] Ellis can be blamed only for his tactless haste in sending the Armenian to Calcutta in irons[24] like an ordinary criminal without waiting for the Nawab's opinion[25] in regard to the latter's offence. But, in fairness to Ellis, it must be added that he had applied to the Government on previous occasions in similar cases, but had not received any redress, so he sent the Armenian to Calcutta on this occasion.[26]

Antoine was detained at Calcutta for one day only, and sent back to the Nawab for proper punishment, because the Council was convinced that he had "taken upon himself an authority

19. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 30 p. 20.

20. Letter from the chief and Council at Patna to the Governor, Jan. 28th 1762.

21. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762.

22. Letter from the Nawab to Ellis, (4th or 5th) Feb. 1762.

23. Letter from Ellis to the Nawab, dated Feb. 4, 1762.

24. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 303.

25. The Nawab received a highly coloured account of the affair from Rajballabh who wrote, "A small quantity of salt-petre which he (i.e. Antoine) was *accused of having plundered from the factory*" (Vide letter from the Nawab—Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762). The Nawab wrote, " *for a trifling cause,* that gentleman (Ellis) has disgraced and carried away Coja Antoon." The Council, however, did not agree with the Nawab that it was a trifling cause!

26. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June 1762.

which he had no right to.[27] The Nawab had to dismiss him from his service.[28]

The next important dispute between the Nawab's officers, and Ellis was in connexion with a small gate[29] of the city of Patna, which was nearest to the factory. The Nawab ordered his Naib at Patna to shut up this gate,[30] this the people at the factory were suddenly deprived of a short cut into the city. The real motive of the Nawab seems to have been to prevent the factory people from having an easy access to the city, but Ellis was perfectly justified in complaining against this action, as it needlessly inconvenienced the folk at the factory by compelling them to go about six hundred yards round to the west gate of the city. Ellis rightly contended that there was no necessity at all for closing this gate at least in the day time.[31]

It was, however the monghyr fort incident which aroused the fiercest condemnation of Ellis by the Nawab, and therefore it deserves a close examination. Desertions among the Company's troops were at this time getting frequent at Patna, and Ellis complained of it to the Council at Calcutta early in February, 1762.[32] In fact, he was extremely uneasy for this, when a report was made to him that European deserters had taken shelter in the monghyr fort.[33] He at once decided to take strong measure for the immediate arrest of these deserters, and requested Rajballabh to write to Shujan Singh, *'the qalahdar,'* to deliver up the deserters. This Rajballabh promised to do—whereupon Ellis sent a sergeant with a Company of sepoys to escort them back. When the party reached the fort, Shujan Singh not only refused to let the sergeant enter the fort, but threatened to fire upon them. On being informed of this, Ellis directed the sepoys to wait peacefully till the Nawab's orders reached the *'qalahdar,'* and asked the Governor to request the Nawab to send a *'parwanah'* to Shujan Singh pemitting a search of the fort by the sergeant.

27. Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb. 11th 1762, Als. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 23, Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 304.

28. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13.

29. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 43, p. 28.

30. Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb. 22nd 1762.

31. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 14th March 1762).

32. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 2nd Feb. 1762).

33. Beng. Pub. Cons. 4th March, 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 23rd Feb. 1762).

The Governor did request[34] the Nawab to do so but in vain. The Nawab wilfully distorted the whole affair just to condemn[35] the action of Ellis in the bitterest of terms.

The complaints of the Nawab against Ellis in this connexion show to what extent he could deliberately misrepresent the incident. They may thus be summarised[36]:—

(*i*) *"Two or three Companies of sepoys"* were sent by Ellis to monghyr.

(*ii*) They *"marched against"* the fort, and *"surrounded"* it;

(*iii*) The *'qalahdar' "Sat within in fear of his life and honour";*

(*iv*) "I am ignorant," wrote the Nawab, "what provocation has induced the gentleman to send sepoys *'to attack the fort, ...* and *thus commit hostilities"*;

(*v*) The sepoys went *'in a treacherous and designing manner*"; and

(*vi*) Rajballabh totally denied [37] having sent any instructions to the *'qalahdar'* on behalf of Ellis, and the Nawab wrote, "who is Rajballabh that Mr. Ellis should write to him?"

That the above accusations were all groundless and malicious can be easily shown[38]:—

(*i*) Ellis sent no more than one Company of sepoys;

(*ii*) They did not surround the fort, and when the *'qalahdar'* would not allow the sergeant to enter the fort, they posted themselves at four, or five miles distance, where they were ordered to remain, not by Ellis alone, but by the Council at Calcutta;[39]

34. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 42. p. 28.

35. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65. p. 13.

36. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762. (Vide. Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, letter from Rajballabh to the Nawab, letter from Shujan Singh to Syda Ram).

37. Letter from Rajballabh to the Nawab, 26th March 1762: "I know not in truth anything of this affair, neither did any person ever demand, or I write such a letter.

38. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762. (Letter from Ellis to the Governor, 13th Feb. 1762).

Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March, 1762. (Letter from Ellis to the Governor, 14th March, 1762).

39. Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 12-13.

(*iii*) Far from being anxious for his life and honour, the gallant '*qalahdar*' was rude to the sergeant and threatened to fire unless he kept his men off the reach of the guns. To prove his earnestness and loyalty, he even sent for four thousand bullets, and some lead,[40] and even stopped the supply of provisions to make it impossible for the sepoys to stay longer;

(*iv*) The Nawab's description of the sending of a Company of sepoys to bring the deserters back as an attack on the fort is obviously an astounding perversion of truth, indicative of his bitter rancour and prejudice;

(*v*) The charge that the troops aimed at treacherously surprising the fort is equally fantastic, and is only another instance of the Nawab's way of describing things; and finally,

(*vi*) Ellis did inform Rajballabh of the affair of the deserters, and did secure his promise to write to Monghyr. It is unthinkable that Ellis could have believed that the '*qalahdar*' would allow the search of his fort without instructions from the higher authorities. Ellis was perfectly justified in considering that Rajballabh, being the Naib at Patna, did possess the authority to give the necessary instructions to the '*qalahdar*' at Monghyr. There is no reason to suppose that Ellis told a falsehood when he insisted that he had asked Rajballabh to send a letter to Monghyr.[41] It is clear that[42] either Ghulam Muhammad, the intermediary, or Rajballabh had spoken a falsehood.

The Governor wrote to the Nawab drawing his attention to the material difference between his version of the incident, and that given by Ellis,[43] and requested him to permit a search of the fort by the sergeant.[44] The Nawab was further told that an

40. Letter from Shujan Singh to Diwan Syda Ram. (Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 333).

41. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March, 1762.

42. Even Mr. Vansittart thought that the intermediary might have "invented that answer of Rajballabh." (Narrative, I. p. 208).

43. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 39. p. 26.

44. Trans P. L. I. 1762, No. 42, p. 28.

undue prolongation of such a trivial affair was extremely undesirable.[45] The Governor ultimately proposed to send two sergeants, and several '*tilangas*' to search the fort.[46] But, this the Nawab would not allow! He objected to the proposed search, as he thought it would humiliate him before the public.[47] Finally, it was decided to send Mr. Hastings and Lt. Ironside to visit the fort, and report on the affair;[48] simply because the Nawab would never allow Ellis to search the fort.[49] He, however, did not object[50] to the deputation of the former gentlemen.[51]

The Nawab's complaints against Ellis began to be so numerous and bitter that Mr. Vansittart considered it necessary[52] to depute Mr. Hastings to bring about a reconciliation between them, and allay the Nawab's suspicions of the Company's intentions to depose him. In short, Mr. Hastings was instructed[53] to examine the causes of the misunderstanding between the Nawab and Ellis, and soothe the former's irritated feelings by reconciling matters. He was further directed by the dissenting majority in the Council to demand the sum of 20 lakhs of rupees for which the Nawab had given a bond to the Select Committee on September 27, 1760.[54].

45. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 46, p. 30.
46. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 48, p. 31.
47. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 7.
48. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 67, p. 41.
49. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13.
50. Ibid.
51. Beng. Pub. Cons. 25th March, 1762.
52. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 21.
53. Beng. Pub. Cons. 25th March, 1762.
54. Ibid. Mr. Amyatt was responsible for this resolution. In fact large sums had already been paid, and Mr. Amyatt knew this. The Resolution was therefore a fling at Mr. Vansittart. The main arguments of Mr. Amyatt and his supporters were sufficiently plausible:—
 (i) The money should be credited to the account of the Company lest it should be thought that the revolution had been brought about for private profit; (Mr. Amyatt.)
 (ii) The bond had not been formally returned by an order of the Council; (Mr. Hay.)
 (iii). "If the Nawab refuses, which I think he will and ought, we are justified at once; and if he grants it, this is so much gained to the Company." (Major Carnac.)

 Mr. Vansittart's opposition was neither convincing, nor straightforward. He lacked the courage to declare that payments had been made to some members of the Select Committee (Vide his Narrative, II pp. 29-35). It may be noted that he himself had not accepted anything so far, as he received his share during his visit to Monghyr.

Mr. Hastings left Calcutta on April 9, 1762, and on his way to Sasseram which[55] the Nawab had made his head-quarters at this time, he visited the Monghyr fort on April 27 along with Lt. Ironside to make an enquiry regarding the deserters, but did not find any trace of them inspite of a careful search.[56] Mr. Hastings reached Sasseram on May 9,[57] and was cordially received by the Nawab.[58] The letter strongly repudiated any desire on his part to break with the English, although he maintained that he had much to complain against the servants of the Company, and roundly charged Ellis with attempting to bring about a rupture between him and the Company.[59] It is clear that the Nawab was extremely flattered by the visit[60] of Mr. Hastings, and he may have felt that the latter would, if properly humoured, support his cause at Calcutta, and side with him in his disputes with Ellis and others. The Nawab was fully successful in persuading his guest to concur with him in his opinion of Ellis, and Mr. Hastings wrote to the Governor strongly condemning the intractable attitude of the chief.[61]

The real point at issue was not the petty quarrels of the Nawab with Ellis, but the regulation of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, and the putting of it on a satisfactory basis. Mr. Hastings had been directed by the Governor to settle the question with the Nawab, if possible.[62] The principal among the Nawab's recent complaints in regard to this matter was as follows: —

(*i*) The chiefs of the factories, the Nawab alleged, made use of their sepoys on the slightest pretexts, and this he wanted should be forbidden: [63]

55. Siyar, p. 709 (Lucknow Text).

56. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor—April 28, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 111). Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 14. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 314. Letter from Lt. Ironside to the Governor. April 27, 1762.

57. Letter from Mr. Hastings to Coote, May 14, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 114).

58. Muzaffar Namah (Alld. Univ. ms.) p. 329. "Shamsuddaulah sent Mr. Hastings who was a great diplomat to Sasseram for pacifying Ali Jah."

59. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 13, 1762. (Narrative, II, p. 59).

60. Muzaffar Namah, p. 329.

61. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 26, 1762. (Narrative, II, p. 63).

62. Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings, May 2, 1762.

63. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762.

(*ii*) The Company's '*gumashtahs*' were reported to be constantly impeding the public business;[64] and

(*iii*) Merchants without *dastaks* carried goods on their boats hoisting English colours to evade the payment of duties.[65]

Mr. Vansittart had proposed certain regulations for putting an end to the alleged abuse of the English flag, and these Mr. Hastings now explained to the Nawab.[66] The proposed regulations may thus be summed up:—

(*i*) The '*daroghahs*' of the '*chaukis*' should strictly insist on being shown a *dastak* for every English boat;

(*ii*) A boat with English colours, but without a *dastak*, should be stopped, and notice should be given to the nearest factory, if the goods be English property;

(*iii*) Faujdars should punish the '*gumashtahs*' who commit acts of aggression, or interfere in the affairs of the Government;

(*iv*) The Nawab's officers should not obstruct the Company's business, or oppress the people employed in it;

(*v*) No office should be bestowed on the Company's '*gumashtahs*' in the Nawab's Government.[67]

The evasion of duties by some merchants, of which the Nawab complained in manifestly exaggerated terms was really due not so much to the connivance of the Company's servants as to the following reasons which have generally been overlooked:—

(*i*) The *daroghahs* of the *chaukis* were mostly inefficient, and rarely possessed the capacity to distinguish a genuine *dastak* from a counterfeit one;

(*ii*) They generally did not stop a boat with English colours, hence the abuse of the English flag must have been frequent. Their own carelessness and negligence were certainly an incentive to fraud; and,

(*iii*) Corruption among them was also to some extent responsible for the evasion of duties;[68]

64. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 87.

65. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. Nos. 332 and 342. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 85.

66. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 18, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 117-120) and, Narrative, II, p. 90.

67. The Council also resolved that a Company's servant should not hold office, or rent districts under the Nawab's government. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons. 7th June, 1762).

68. Beng. Pub. Cons. 28th June, 1762.

As regards the alleged interference of the *gumashtahs* in the affairs of the government, the Governor himself had taken a strong attitude, and had asked the Nawab to report to him all cases of misconduct on their part that he might properly punish them.[69] He further issued orders for the punishment of such among the '*gumashtahs*' as impeded the business of the '*Sarkar*.'[70] But, what usually is lost sight of is the fact that the Nawab's people did on numerous occasions obstruct them[71] in their work, and by their own high-handedness caused a good deal of unpleasantness.[72] New *chaukis* began to be established where there were none before, and English boats were sometimes needlessly stopped.[73] The *faujdars* were really encouraged by the Nawab's open disagreement with the English officials. An instance of their insolent behaviour may be cited. A European merchant was alleged to have stolen some salt, put in irons, and flogged like an ordinary thief under the orders of a *faujdar*.[74] It is curious that while Elli's action against Antoine has been generally emphasized, such treatment meted out to an Englishman has not attracted any notice. It is inconceivable that a European could have been punished in that manner, had it not been for the fact that the Nawab's jealousy of the English merchants was well-known to his subordinates.

The Nawab's objection to the practice of sending sepoys to protect English trade is easy to understand. He regarded it as an insult to his authority, and so vehemently disapproved of the use of military force by the chiefs of the factories. The Council, however, rightly argued[75] that if the use of sepoys was absolutely

69. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 65. p. 39.
70. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 85. p. 48.
71. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 141, p. 75.
72. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 429, p. 217.
73. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 432, p. 218.
74. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 97, p. 53.
75. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762. "As regards forbidding generally and absolutely the Chiefs or the subordinates from making use of their Sepoys on any occasion, we think it would be too dangerous a point to give up, for it might affect the freedom and security of the Company's trade, and occasion the *dastak* to be little respected. If the government chaukidars knew that no measures could be taken on the goods being stopped even when with a *dastak*, unless orders arrived from Calcutta, they would not scruple to make off with part of the goods. Hence, when goods with dastaks were stopped the chief and council of the nearest settlement must send sepoys for their release."

forbidden, the Company's trade might be affected, and that there would exist no check on the rapacity of the *chaukidars*.

An instance[76] may be cited from the Bengal Public Consultations of June 14, 1762. A number of boats carrying salt which belonged to Ellis were recently stopped at Monghyr, and the *'bahrdars'* imprisoned, although there was a *dastak*. While they were under detention, two of the boats were sunk accidentally, and consequently Ellis was obliged to send sepoys on this occasion, and write to Rajballabh a letter of protest, part of which may be reproduced:—"Before the news was brought me that Shujan Singh, Naib of Gurgin Khan in Monghyr had stopped a fleet of mine, and imprisoned the Bhirdar; yet I waited till now considering who it could be that has power to take such a measure. At present, it is fully proved that that man is capable of anything, for to-day I have received news that he has stopped another fleet also which was coming from Calcutta, and imprisoned its Bhirdar, and that by reason of detaining it two boats full of goods were sunk in the ghauts of Monghyr. You yourself will do me justice, and take notice what was his reason for stopping my property, or if that can not be done by you, write to other gentlemen who may have power over him, otherwise I swear that whoever has, or shall behave improperly to me, I myself will punish him according to his deserts." The Nawab made the usual complaint against Ellis in this matter too, but the Council did not disapprove of the latter's action.[77]

The regulations proposed by Mr. Hastings on behalf of the Governor, while they could never be acceptable to the Council for cogent reasons, failed to satisfy the Nawab also. The latter obviously wanted something more tangible. He was extremely eager for a written agreement from the Council itself, which would specify in clear terms the exact privileges of the Company, and the extent of his own authority.[78] The Nawab wanted not only to be sure of his own ground, but sought to compel the Council to bargain with him in regard to private inland trade. This object of the Nawab has generally been ignored. It is undoubtedly a typical instance of his astute diplomacy. But, Mr. Hastings had no authority to negotiate with him on behalf of the Council, and

76. Beng. Pub. Cons. 14th June, 1762.
77. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762.
78. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 18, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 120). Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 95.

so his talks with the Nawab in this connexion produced no results. A satisfactory settlement of the question was thus postponed.

It was brought to the notice[79] of the Council at this time that under the Nawab's orders, his mother-in-law, the *'Begam'* of Mir Jafar, and Mir Daud who was to have married the daughter of Miran had been placed under confinement. This the Council rightly described as a highly "disagreeable proceeding." Mr. Hastings was directed to inquire into the matter, and advocate the cause of the *'Begam'*. As a matter of fact, this affair is one more glaring illustration of the Nawab's inhuman cruelty. It was on mere suspicion that he thus ill-treated a venerable lady, the wife of his predecessor. Mr. Hastings reported to the Governor the reasons given by the Nawab for keeping the Begam, and Mir Daud under a close surveillance.[80] The lady had been alleged to have murdered one of her women by administering poison, hence the Nawab issued prompt orders for keeping strict watch over her movements, "to prevent the like accident in future". It is strange that he should have hastened to subject the lady to such humiliation without caring to make a proper investigation. As for Mir Daud, Mr. Hastings wrote,[81] "It having been represented to him (i.e., the Nawab) that he (i,e., Mir Daud) has constant access to the Nabob's zenana, who to preserve the honour of his family has ordered Meer Daood to remove to Dacca, or quit the province, meaning only to deprive him of those opportunities." This interesting explanation is not convincing, especially because the Nawab did not allow the young man to leave the province, and kept him confined at Patna,[82] after the latter's futile attempt to escape with the help of Mr. Batson,[83] Chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. The latter had, on his own authority, granted protection[84] both to the *Begam,* and to Mir Daud, but his interference in the Nawab's personal affairs was censured by the Council.[85] The real explanation of the Nawab's vindictive measures against Mir Daud seems to be his characteristic suspicion of the latter who, on account of his close connexion with the family of Mir Jafar, might prove to be a potential danger to his Government.

79. Beng. Pub. Cons. 24th May, 1762. (Vide letter from Mr. Batson—dated May 21, 1762). Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 92. p. 51.
80. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd June, 1762.
81. Ibid, (an extract from Mr. Hastings's letter is given above).
82. Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. Ms. p. 326).
83. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 105. p. 57.
84. Beng. Pub. Cons. 5th July, 1762.
85. Beng. Pub. Cons. 8th July, 1762.

The mission of Mr. Hastings to the Nawab produced no satisfactory results, and ended practically in nothing.[86] A reconciliation between the Nawab, and Ellis could not be effected, and the Nawab's complaints against the trade of the Company's servants became all the more vehement, and loud.

86. The Nawab also formally refused to pay the sum of Rs. 20 lakhs that Mr. Hastings had been directed to demand from him on behalf of the Council on the ground that he had fulfilled all the terms of the treaty subsisting between himself and the Company. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons. 14th June, 1762). The Nawab wrote to the Council, "That you, gentlemen, should unreasonably demand twenty lakhs of rupees of me surprises me greatly . . . Now most of the gentlemen, to whom I made the offer, have left the country; and as to the one or two who still remain here, I do not think that they will demand it of me." The air of innocence that the Nawab assumes is truly amusing! How could he betray the friends of Mr. Vansittart, to whom he had already paid the promised donations? (Vide Sumner's evidence, First Report, 1772, pp. 163-4 for proof of the fact that these payments had been made in 1761).

23/1

An English letter of Janardan Shivram, the Peshwa's Vakil at Madras, to Macartney, the Governor of Madras

BY

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,

Satara.

THE political connection of the Marathas with the Madras Presidency began since the time of Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, when he was entrusted with the administration of the Carnatic under the Vijapur Government in about 1636. His family subsequently exercised a very powerful influence over the destinies of Southern India. Shahaji's second son Vyankoji founded a kingdom at Tanjore which continued to exist till 1855 A.D. The doings of the great Shivaji and of his son Rajaram in the Madras Presidency are too well known. The rich soil of the Carnatic was a permanent attraction to the invading Marathas and their connection with the country became closer and closer by the successful raids under Raghuji and Fatehsingh Bhonsle and subsequently under the tactful and heroic Peshwas. At last in the 18th century the Maratha power extended right up to the southernmost part of the Peninsula and it was felt so much practically in every principality of the South, including the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nabab of the Carnatic, the English and the French, that we find a number of names of Maratha ambassadors posted at their courts and sometimes dabbling with success in their political affairs.[1]

The name of Janardan Shivram is one of the most prominent of them. He was a Maratha Vakil with the British at Madras. Twenty-six of his Marathi letters were published by the late R. B. Parasnis in the now defunct Marathi Journal called "Itihasa Sangraha" in 1916-7. There are eight more unpublished letters

1 R. B. D. B. Parasnis—A note on the Maratha Records relating to the History of the South. *Proceedings of Meetings of Indian Hist. Commission.* Vol. VI, p. 59.

of his, preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara. All these letters written in the Marathi language and in the Modi script are addressed by him to his father or uncle, one Bapu and to Nana Phadnavis and Haripant Tatya Phadke. They are dated between 6th November 1780 and 30th March 1791 and are written chiefly from Kālahasti and Chinnapatan i.e., Madras. These letters are very valuable and contain useful detailed and sometimes hitherto unknown information on the political affairs of Hyder and Tipu, the Nizam, the Nabab of Arcot, the Naiks of Venkatgiri and other Zamindars and of the French and the British in the Madras Presidency.

Nothing is known of the family to which Janardan belonged. His father was Shivram and his grandfather was Krishnajī.[2] He had a younger brother named Nagoba[3] and an uncle named Madhavrao.[4] It is thus clear that he belonged to a Maharashtra Brahman family.

The present letter unlike his other letters is wholly written in English except for his signature at the end which is in Modi characters. Herein he calls himself a Vakil from the Peshwas. There is at the end also his seal embossed on lac and bearing the Devanagari characters *Śri Mahālakshmī Sahāya*. At the beginning of the Marathi letters, however, he uses often the word *Śri Guru*.

The English letter is a petition from Janardan Shivram to Lord Macartney who was the English Governor at Madras from 22nd June 1781 to 8th June 1785.

When Hyderally sent an army of 4,000 horse under Meerally Raza-Cawn against the territory of Colastry (i.e., Kālahasti) and Vecantagery and was on the point of devastating it; Vencatapah Naig, the Chief, requested Janardan Shivram to use his influence and ward off the encroachments of the enemy and offered in return the grant of one village to him and of another to Vinnajee Pandit, the Vakil of Hyder himself. Janardan Shivram wrote accordingly to Hyderally about the entreaties of Vencatapah Naig, and of his readiness of obedience and of his being a well-wisher of the Marathas and requested him not to molest his territories. Hyder ceased his hostilities towards the Naig and Janardan Shivram received the reward for his work. He continued in the

2 His English letter published below.

3. Cf. A Marathi note (*yādi*) in the Satara museum of a Persian letter to the Governor of Madras that Nago Shivram would act for his brother Janardhan Shivram during his absence at Poona. No. 10 of Parasnis.

4 Cf. *ibid* No. 3.

enjoyment of the village for some time; but when he went to Poona for some business the Naig forfeited his village. Hence Janardan Shivram requested the Governor of Madras, to whom the Naig was subordinate, to intercede and to see that his village was given back to him.

This application bears no date but as is shown below, it must have been sent to the Governor on 25th or 26th February 1785.

There are two annexures to this letter one giving the translation of the grant given by the Naig Venkatapah of Kolastry, of the village of Poolumpadoo in his Jahagir called Coonaravizia on 15th January 1781, and the other recording that a similar grant of two more villages called Chocut Tangel and Manamully was made by the same Naig to him on the 5th January 1781. The gift of the village referred to in the present letter seems to be of Poolumpadoo granted to him on the 15th January 1781. Nothing is known of the two villages mentioned in the other annexure.

When no reply from Lord Macartney was received to this letter, a reminder was sent by Janardan Shivram on 7th Jamadiulaval or 18th March 1785. The reminder is in Marathi and in Modi characters, and bears in ink his seal *Śrĭ Mahālakshmĭ Sahāya* as in the first letter is accompanied by an English translation probably made by himself as its broken English denotes. Therein he states thus:—

It is now about twenty-two[5] days since I had the honour to Present a Petition to your Lordship with Enclosures of the Translations of Grants, but you have not been pleased yet to put me in possession of the Villages. . . . I am a Vakeel and whose Duty is to render Service to those that are desirous and receive from them favors in return; and, tho the Vakeels could not get favourable Opportunity immediately, they will wait for twelve years to accomplish their Aims. . . . I have rendered material Service to the Zemindar of Colastry when he was finally of Opinion that Carnatic and Madras will be hardly saved from the late Hyder. . . . I am fixt to the Office of Vakeel here on behalf of the Mahrattas, and not same as others that remain here to-day liable to be removed the next day.[6]

5 This reminder is dated 18th March 1785 and the original representation is said to have been made 22 days previous to this. The former therefore must have been dated 25th or 26th of Feb. 1785.

6 He had reason to say so; as from the letters found of him he was grant was made it was confiscated.

I have therefore rejected the Offer of Money and accepted the village from Colastry Zemindar thinking myself that I shall always have country Provisions while I remain at Madras.[7] If I was the same Opinion as the Zemindar of Colastry, since he said that Madras would prove defenceless, I would have accepted the Money offer and gone away to my Country. . . . I have therefore taken the Liberty to re-petition to your Lordship hoping that your Lordship will do justice by ordering possession of the villages and put me in possession of them and reduce the Zemindar of Colastry to the immediate payment of the arrears of five years Revenue.[8]

What the result of this application was is not known.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY K.B.,

PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE., ETC. ETC. ETC.

THE HUMBLE REPRESENTATION OF JANARDANA ROW, VAKEEL TO THE MAHRATTAS.

SHEWETH

Previous to the entrance of the late Hyderallys Troops in the Carnatic I have remained at Madras and soon after the late Hyder proceeded in Hostilities his motives were to annoy the Countries of Colastry and Vencatagery and to that purpose he issued peremptory Orders to Meeraly Raza Cawn then commanwant of 4,000 horse at Cumbum to proceed immediately and Distroy Colastry and Vencatagery and then to come and join him near Arcot in obedience thereto Meerally Raza Cawn proceeded and came to Sutaramporam in the District of Colastry, plundered the Village and set fire to the Houses—Domirla Vincatapah Naig of Colastry solicited a Vakeel and sent him to me at Madras with Kilats, Nazer

7 Janardan Shivram had a keen desire to own a Jahagir. Besides the villages which he got from the Naig of Colastry he wished to have a big village granted to him by the Peshwas as is seen from his repeated requests to Mana Phadnis. By the possession of a jahagir he professed, the prestige of a vakil is much enhanced. (See No. 3 of Parasnis.)

8 The original grant was made in Jan. 1781 and in this letter dated March 1785 five years' revenue is claimed. It seems therefore that soon after the working as Vakil at Madras at least from 1780 to 1791.

and Letter to take (to) Hyder offering his obedience and Service requesting I would do him the favor to introduce his presents to Hyder by means of his Vakeel Vinnagee Pundith and thereby to prevail on him to free his country from hostilities and to preserve the same with Peace and Tranquillity and to this Effect he had wrote me then four or five Letters mentioning the necessity under which he then severly laboured and seemed to be ruined by the 4,000 horse then encamped near Chittavale. Besides the other Detachment both of which were ordered to distroy Colastry and Vincatagery. In consequence of which I had written a Letter to Hyder mentioning the entreaties of Damerla Vincatapah Naig as well as his readiness of obedience and point (ed) out to him at the same time and that he is (was) sincere well-wisher of the Mahrattas and assured him that his Duty in consequence will (would) be to the Promotion of his Interest as far as lays in his Power. Hyder in his Letter acknowledged the receipt of mine together with the Letter and Presents of Damirla Vencatapah Naig—mentioning his acceptance of the services therein proposed and added with his having directed the Commandants of the Detachments to forbid their Hostilities towards Colastry since the Zemindar has offered his services and sent to me a Letter; likewise to the same effect to Damirla Vencatapah Naig—I had likewise received a Letter from his Vakeel Vinagee urging the above in the strongest terms to persuade Damirla Vencatapah Naig to place much confidence on his Masters Letter and to join him as soon as possible. On the receipt of which Letter Damirla Vencatapah Naig sent to me his Vakeel to invite me to his court which I accepted and accompanied him to Colastry from whence I have proceeded to the Hyder's camp with Damirla Vencatapah and introduced him to him and rendered him every service in my Power as an acknowledgement of which service he expressed many grateful terms and said at the same time that any Riches he could offer as far as 10,000 Pag would not be considered an equitable and therefore offered two villages as free Gift one to me and the other to Vinnagee Pundit and gave me a Grant at the same time with his Public seal to enable me to enjoy it by me and heirs perpetually. I have in virtue of the Grant took charge of the same and continued in the Enjoyment. In the meantime I was obliged to go to Poonah in obedience to my superiors' orders. Soon after which the said Damirla Vencatapah Naig having taken the same village back I have now returned from Poonah and remained six days at Collastry and reobtained the said village and came to Madras soon after which Conary Row Vakeel here prevailed on his master Damirla Vencatapah Naig to retake the said village back which was

accordingly done. I am sorry that the Reflection and mortification which naturally proceed from the behaviour of this nature induces me to make few a Remarks on his conduct which in all respects appear ungentill—but the Duty which the People in general owe to their own Prudence and Indusary renders me to confine myself to the referring the original Plan of the matter with hopes of Justice.

I take the Liberty to submit the aforgoing to your Lordships Judgment and wait for relief—in the Premises.

Janardana Row Shivram Vakil
Nisbat Shrimant Rajashri Pant Pradhān.
(Seal in Devnagari characters, embossed in lac)
Śrī Mahalakshmī Sahāya.

Translation of a Grant from Damirla Vencatapah Naig of Colastry to Janardana Row, Grandson of Kistnajee Pundeth and son of Sivaram pundath Dated 15 January, 1781.

I, Damarla Vencatapah Naig of Colastry, Grandson of late Accapah Naig and son of Timmapah Naig do hereby grant unto you Janardana Row this writing in Testimony of my having given you a village called Poolumpadoo in my Jaghire called Comara Vizia out of Charity and Hospitality and have hereby given you the Same as Donation. You and your heirs therefore are to enjoy the Produce of it perpitually as long as Son and Moon Endureth—

Another Grant of the Same form for Chocut Tangel and Manamully villages, Dated 5th January 1781 from Damarla Vencatapah Naig to Janardana Row.

Obituary.

PROFESSOR JULIUS JOLLY OF WURZBURG.

PROFESSOR Julius Jolly, of Wurzburg, who was one of the members of the consulting Board of Editors of the "Journal of Indian History," passed away, to the regret of all that knew him, on the 25th of April 1932 in his 83rd year. He was born of a family, which can count to its credit statesmen and scholars, on December 28, 1849, in Haidelberg. His father was a physicist, Professor Phillip van Jolly. Julius Jolly received his education in Munich, Berlin and Leipzig, and settled down in Wurzburg as a young man of 23. He was first elected lecturer and then became professor in 1886. Before he became Professor, he undertook a voyage of education to India, and took the opportunity to deliver a course of lectures at the Calcutta University, which was published as the Tagore Law Lectures, one of his early works that gave him his standing in the world of letters. He was officially Professor of Sanskrit and languages connected therewith at the University. But he specialised in the study of jurisprudence and history of legal procedure in Ancient India, holding the lead in these subjects for more than half a century. He also studied Indian medicine and became an international authority in these somewhat recondite subjects. He kept up his interest in the study of Indian law and his influence was so great that as late as 1928, a translation of his work on Law and Custom was published in English by a Bengalee scholar, Radhakrishna Ghosh. He published also several works on medicine, and won his position as a standing authority on the subject. He was the recipient of honours from various Universities and learned bodies in Germany and outside. He was elected honorary Doctor of Philosophy by the Oxford University. He was made an honorary Member of the Royal Academy of Science, Munich, of the Royal Society of Science, Göttingen and the Royal Asiatic Society, London. His own University honoured him by making him President of the University, "Rector Magnificus," in 1909-10.

Notwithstanding these distinctions, Jolly was a scholar of great modesty, and was hardly anxious for coming into the limelight even as a scholar. For his ability and length of active life, his publications were not quite so many as many other scholars could claim for themselves. Nevertheless his was a life rich in

work and scholarly achievements. He was connected with the "Journal of Indian History" ever since the second or third year of its foundation. He wrote the reviews of the first few volumes of Phenzer's "Kathasarith Sagara" in English for the journal, and gave valuable advice on matters connected with it. His passing away is a loss irreparable to the world of scholarship.

Editorial.

It is getting to be acknowledged nowadays that a University in India hardly serves its purpose adequately unless some provision is made for the *alumnai* of the University and the teachers engaged in the carrying on of the work of the University giving a part of their attention to advancing knowledge by prosecuting research work. It is accepted that as far as may be research work ought not to be completely divorced from the work at any rate of higher teaching, and the more the two are brought together into some systematic correlation the more efficient the actual education is found to be both from the point of view of the students and the teachers as well as those who may be detailed exclusively for the prosecution of the work of research. The actual work that is turned out in this field depends to a very great extent upon the facilities that the Universities are able to provide and the equipment that they themselves possess.

A special stimulus was given to this department of University work with the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty when a special grant of a large sum was made for distribution among the Universities with a view to promoting this kind of work by transforming the merely examining bodies of the Universities as they then existed into teaching institutions. Calcutta began to lead the way under the eminent Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. Madras followed suit to purpose. Allahabad and the other Universities followed soon after, each of these having its own particular line of development when once the start was given. Bombay remained behind to some extent, as it were. It was but natural for a centre like Bombay, with its commercial preoccupations; but Bombay had not remained stationary. It was making efforts to come into line, although she indicated an early partiality for economics and the sciences. The holding of the Historical Congress in Bombay, the first of its kind, last year and the words that His Excellency addressed to the Congress have had the effect of stimulating the Bombay University into more activity even in that neglected field of historical studies. While the Bombay Historical Society and the History Section of the St. Xavier's College have been doing good work for some time, it is but fit that the Bombay University should come to the front collecting together the work of its colleges and those engaged in the higher teaching work of the University.

We are glad to welcome therefore the publication of the first Journal of the Bombay University in July last. Not to be outdone by other Universities, this new journal is to be published six times a year, and each one of the issues is devoted to a limited number of subjects taken in groups. The numbers for July and January are to be for History, Economics and Sociology, the numbers for November and May would similarly be devoted to the study of Arts and Law. The September number would deal with the Physical Sciences including Mathematics, and the March number would similarly be devoted to the Natural Sciences including Medicine. This arrangement holds out promise of great development for the future. The number under notice contains about a dozen articles on varied subjects. Among the subjects dealt with come in two studies at least on Hindu sculpture, four articles are devoted to subjects of modern Indian History, subjects like the Parasurama Myth and Agricultural Holdings in India coming in as well as the usual miscellaneous matter. Altogether we must say that the journal makes a very good beginning and has promise of a good future for it.

While on it, we might take occasion to mention the advent of another University into this field, the Muslim University of Aligarh. The first number of the "Muslim University Journal" was issued in July last year, and we have not received any further number. This journal devotes itself more or less to the more popular arts subjects, such as History, Literature and Law. Some articles are of considerable interest to students of History. Among them may be mentioned the Historical Geography of the Punjab, a very important study by itself, and the History of the reign of Jalal-ud-din. Professor Muhammad Habib is the Editor, and he is assisted by a committee. We wish the journal a long and a prosperous future.

The English in India—A Problem of Politics.

Under this caption Sir John Marriott has presented us more or less with a study of how the English came to be in India and their position in the country at present. Without pretending to be a history of the British period as the subject is generally dealt with in ordinary books of history, the author studies the subject from the point of view of a politician historically. While he presents a fairly succinct general account of how the English came to be what they are in India, and giving us a more or less satisfactory account of the problems confronting politicians now, the work does not go much farther. The part covered in the book

is the part that is generally taken to be well-known, and as a matter of fact the author himself acknowledges that the work of his own pupil, P. E. Roberts, leaves comparatively little to be desired by way of a satisfactory history. While this book emphasises the constructive work of the British administration perhaps more than a work like that of Roberts could do, it does not take us much beyond in the matter of elucidating the political problems of British administration to-day. The problem agitating India at present is how far the principle of self-determination is to be applied to India and how best the terms held out by the British authorities in this behalf are to be actually met. While it certainly would be foolish to attempt any satisfactory solution of problems arising out of this without an adequate appreciation of the history of the position, what is really more important to the solution of the problem is a correct appreciation of the aptitude as well as the attitude of the people occupying the country, the political-minded as well as the non-political-minded. An important branch of study therefore which would contribute very much to a satisfactory solution of this problem is how exactly all the changes in the British administration have reacted upon the people, what they have been brought up to be, and how exactly the ambitions thus stimulated by this kind of tutelage may well be satisfied without detriment to the future of India, and with benefit to the Indians at large first, and of Britain next. The elucidation of that position is very imperfect. We might almost say it has not been attempted. While we welcome the book therefore as providing a succinct account of the development of the British power in India from small beginnings to its present condition with a slightly altered emphasis on the constitutional side of it, we regret we cannot say that the study advances us any nearer to a satisfactory solution from the Indian or any other point of view. Nonetheless, as a study by a person of the eminence of Sir J. A. R. Marriott, it does make a contribution to the literature bearing on the side of British Indian History.

[*We much regret to have to hold over the review of report on Mohenjo-Daro from this issue. Many causes conspired to bring about this delay, and it is hoped to bring out a full review in the next number.*]

Reviews

AKBAR

By

Laurence Binyon,

Peter Davies Limited.

This is a small book of about 160 pages of crown octavo, which tells the story of the life of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor of India. It passes in review the main incidents of the life of Akbar giving references to sources, but presents them as incidents in the features of the character of a great individual rather than as incidents of history. These main events are stated plainly with reference to the authorities the most reliable for each, weighing impartially in the balance of historical criticism the various authorities without prejudice. At the same time it does not obtrude the discussion of these authorities so as to make the biography unnecessarily learned. Any short life of Akbar is bound to refer to the work of the late V. A. Smith, who relied a little too uncritically on certain authorities and convicted others of undue partiality, if not prevarication. The remarks of Mr. Binyon in regard to the siege and capture of Asirgarh, one of the most debated of the incidents of Akbar's life are worth quoting as exhibiting his own attitude towards the various sources. "The events are recorded by Abul Fazl, who was in command of the siege, and by the French author Du Jarric, who founded his narrative on Jesuit accounts. Jerome Xavier was present at the siege, so it is natural to think that his notes were used. Yet the two accounts are impossible to reconcile. Vincent Smith takes Du Jarric's story as literally true; but Mr. Payne, the English editor of Du Jarric, shows that Vincent Smith's accusations of falsehood on the part of Abul Fazl and other native historians are largely unfounded". The question is then examined in detail in consequence:—"Asirgarh had been taken, but the method of its capture could not redound to Akbar's glory". That gives us an idea of the character of criticism by this author, which evinces from the very beginning considerable sympathy for the subject, and as a consequence a far greater insight and understanding of the character of Akbar than other writers. A serious student of Mughal art, he could get into

the subject and understand the mental attitude of the emperor far better than other writers on the subject. It is an excellent little book and is quite a worthy life of the great emperor.

NATIONHOOD FOR INDIA

By

Lord Meston, K.C.S.I.

Oxford University Press.

The book deals with the present problems agitating the minds of thinking people both in India and in England primarily, not without attracting world-wide attention. The problem is stupendous, and the character of the problem is represented in the work as "conflict of civilisation complicated by the racial question of colour". This very difficult problem Lord Meston attacks with characteristic earnestness. In his own words he sets out clearly the chief factors in the conflict, and the measures taken for controlling them. Lord Meston's findings are that the chief driving force behind this conflict is the spirit of Hinduism eager for its preservation, nay, even for the restoration to its old position. While admitting sincere efforts among a section for social reform and an approach to European conditions of life as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of the principles of democracy in India, he notes perhaps with far too much of an insistence the existence of a sinister influence of a more reactionary character, which would set itself against this move. He finds this in the alarm of Hindu civilisation at the impact of Western civilisation and the wonted disinclination of the former to absorb the features of Western civilisation.

The subject was dealt with in six lectures to an American audience by Lord Meston. The first of these is devoted to tracing the origin and growth of Hinduism, and the two following lectures consider Hinduism as a national force, and the features in Hinduism at all making for nationhood. The following two are devoted to nationalism and progress, and nationalism in politics. The last of these lectures is devoted to a national future for India.

Of course in presenting the history of Hinduism, the author shows clearly that he has failed to grasp the inner significance of the building forces of Hinduism as a whole. He is dispassionate

so far as to find something good to say of the caste system, but his insistence upon what he considers the incompatability of Hinduism with any principles of democracy fails to take note of certain essential features of the problem. The first problem is that it concerns one-fifth of the human race as he notes, and we have no illuminating Western precedent for the application of democratic principles on this large scale. Failing to have a precedent, one would naturally expect him to attack the problem how best to apply the principles of democracy to the conditions obtaining in India, which in fact is really the problem. The whole tendency of Lord Meston's thesis is to reshape India and assimilate it to the conditions of the democratic West, that section of the West that is really democratic in principle or practice, and then try to impose upon the country the Western principles of democracy. It is hardly necessary to point out that democracy had had neither West nor East, and it was certainly not quite so unknown in India, as Lord Meston in the following statement would have us believe. "In India outside the larger Indian states, no experience in administration has been acquired by Indian leaders during the last two hundred years, and no experience in democratic institutions for the last 2,000 years or more." If the Indians were debarred from acquiring administrative experience during the last two centuries, they could not exactly be held responsible for it. That they had no notion of democratic institutions for the last 2,000 years is a statement which would certainly bear critical examination. He finds conditions in India falling far short of "our ordinary conception of nationalism" and heaps up the responsibility for this upon the unfortunate head of Hinduism, which will not readily allow itself to be shaped to the dictates of the alien West.

Speaking of the minority problem, he projects to the forefront the communalism of the Muhammadan variety, and says "It was not the mere ordinary disabilities of the voting minority that they feared, but also the risks to the religious and cultural life of their community". If that was so in the case of the Muslim, why not the same sympathy be exhibited to a similar attitude to Hinduism. Following, it is stated, that "it was not secular antogonism that we witness" in the clash of the communities now wherever they occur, Lord Meston says, "but it was the old traditional Hinduism at bay". The question will naturally arise why not. If it is justifiable in the one case, it is very probably justifiable in the other, and the first essential of the application of democratic principles, be it Western democratic principle to the Eastern problem, ought to be not to touch the Eastern peoples in the raw of their religious and cultural susceptibilities, but to proceed frankly on

ular basis of the application of the principles of democracy, aside to begin with the religious and cultural sides outside ls of the ordinary administration, so that a gradual evolu- the principle of nationalism might come into its own in of time. Is it at all democratic to surrender to communa- ı whatever form and for whosoever's benefit? "Was it le", Lord Meston asks, assuming that Hinduism was to from this as a great national power, "that so fair a pros- ould be marred by the insistence of the Moslems on racial , in which Brahmanism would have no place and an alien ed rule of life would be perpetuated?". India knew of the ı long before the Moslem invasions, and the Moslems and ans and Jews and Parsis found a home under Hindu rule, would hardly have been possible in the Christian West, and s even the Islamic East. Lord Meston closes the work e dictum "the orthodox Hinduism has still to prove to the its ability and its will to design a true nationhood for Nationalism, and nationhood if you like, is fast getting a discarded principle in the West for many reasons rhaps the sooner we divest ourselves in attacking the Indian n of the notion of nationalism perhaps the nearer would we ı solution of the problem, difficult in character and perhaps edented in its magnitude

IDEALS OF HINDUISM

By

Rai Bahadur Pandit Kashi Nath, M.A., M.B.E.,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

his is a work included in a series undertaken by the enter- g publishers, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bom- n their "Wisdom of the East" Series. Presumably the series ended to present the various aspects of Indian culture from ndian point of view as perhaps a necessary complement to the s issued not long ago as the Wisdom of the East Series in and by Messrs. John Murray, London. We take it that per- this is the first volume of the series, and rightly enough it es an attempt to present to the modern reader the ideals of luism. The idea is an excellent one, and is worth carrying out

very carefully in the interest of Hindu society as a whole, which is just now passing through one of the most critical phases in its life history, owing to the impact of the aggressively industrial civilisation of the West. Many wise thinkers seem to contemplate, with various feelings, this struggle of civilisations, and naturally different views are possible upon the question generally. But to the Hindus, and even to those others whose fortunes are bound up with those of India, the question is of the utmost importance, and it would be a very desirable thing indeed that all that constitutes Indian culture really is summed up and presented in a series of accurate and carefully written theses for the use of the modern reader, who has neither the time nor the patience, nor for that matter in regard to the great bulk of them the preparation required for the understanding of the complicated literature bearing on the subject. The series therefore is quite welcome and timely, and any honest effort in that direction should be welcomed with gratitude. It need hardly be said that for the mainly educational purpose that the series must subserve, the purpose of taking the masses and the classes together possibly with the exception of a very small minority, what is presented ought to be conscientiously accurate and constructive in its character. The greatest danger of distruction of Hindu religion and culture lies not in the alien missionary now, Eastern or Western, but in the impatient social reformer, who proceeds on the basis of an imitation of the West as an ideal in the absence of understanding, we mean a correct understanding of our own cultural and religious ideals. This little book before us is intended to serve such a responsible and useful purpose, and if it is found that we are a little too critical, it is due to the fact of the extreme importance of the work that lies before us.

The learned Pandit begins by drawing a picture of the disintegration that is taking place before our eyes of Hindu society and the hold that a mere hedonistic ideal of life is gaining among the coming generation. In consequence everything is seen with an eye to the utility and immediate profit, not really benefit, and thus there is a vague fumbling for a something which exists in the West, as is believed, without any regard whatsoever to that which subsists with us here. The danger is there undoubtedly. He takes up next the interesting subject of the growth of Hinduism, a subject which is not very easy to deal with, and requires to be handled with the greatest amount of care. The danger here is that any effort in this direction, if it falls short of being the most conscientiously well supported and accurate, is likely to have a

deleterious influence not only in defeating the ends before us, but in providing those with less discriminating judgment with material for the work distruction. To most people, Hinduism seems the most terribly conservative, so unchanging, but a careful student of the subject can discover that great changes have come over Hinduism, as we call it in modern times, and what we call Hinduism now-a-days is something very different from what historians used to call Brahmanism of the the earlier times. While therefore the learned Pandit in the course of this book does his best to present Hinduism in the early stages and the changes that came into it with some care, he lets himself get into lapses of an important character, by statements, which are rather wide of the mark. We fear very much that the ritualistic religion of the Brahman was not the individualistic Brahmanism of the Upanishadic variety which may perhaps be correctly so described. Where the dawning of the right knowledge is the be all and the end all, the search after it and success in it is a matter of individual effort and individual success. But as much cannot be said of that section which is called the religion of works, where the great sacrifices, certainly conducted by the Brahmans, were not in the interest of the individual Brahman conducting it, or even of the Brahmans as a class, or of the noble Kshtriya or the wealthy Vaisya in whose behalf it was conducted; but it was for the benefit of the society as a whole, in which these shared the benefit along with the rest in a measure regulated by the services actually rendered both in point of quality and in regard to the effort involved. The attacks of Buddhism and Jainism, the former of which particularly laid itself out to saving people, if we may so call it, laid emphasis on a side where emphasis was wanting. The germs of a popular religion were there already, and people were not wanting who preferred to follow an ideal other than the Brahmanical ritualistic ideal. But in an age when the solidarity of society was of the essence of human life, that which ministered to social efficiency naturally received the highest importance. But when owing to the attack of that which laid all the emphasis on the popular side, naturally that element in Hinduism which had a more popular character received strength and made advance in consequence, not the modification of the peculiarly Vaidic, into what may only to a modified extent be described as the un-Vaidic Hinduism of later times. But the Hindu organisers, or the Brahmanical organisers of Hinduism, had the wisdom to keep their footing sound on the older tradition when building on a pattern different from the original in the later growth. It is well known that the teaching of the Buddha was found to be too individualistic, and Buddhism itself had to undergo

a modification even almost in the generation of the Buddha himself in the direction of a saving religion, a religion whose ideal was not merely the saving of the individual votary, but the saving of the less fortunate ones, who were not able to save themselves. The development therefore was parallel in the Brahmanism and the Buddhism of that long period. The book before us tries to trace this development, gets into some detail in regard to certain facts or certain aspects, but forgets or passes over certain other aspects of the question. In the course of the whole discussion, the usual mead, not of praise, but of blame is heaped upon the devoted head of the Brahman who is charged with the responsibility by design for all that may have developed into evil in this growing social organisation. It is entirely, forgotten that even some European savants have recognised it frankly that while the Brahman may have had a caste, he never built for himself a church or even a theocracy. The Brahman's position in society was much more individualistic than organised, so that if the Brahman achieved an ascendency, it was to a great extent by sheer merit of individual effort. It was not open to him to lay the law as is often mistaken. He could only expound the law, and it was somebody else that administered it, and if modifications were introduced in religion and religious organisation of Hindu society, it was in response to influences and with an eye to the needs of the times. That parts of the organisation survived their utility and had become outworn survivals cannot be ascribed to his fault. For organisations that served an extremely useful purpose could become survivals; this book is not without bias which is indulged in but too readily by Hindu social reformers of a kind.

As expounding the ideals of Hinduism, the brochure before us falls short in that it does not make a clear and succinct exposition of what the essentials of Hinduism happen to be at present, what it offers as the ideal to strive after. That is absolutely essential before any criticism of its utility for the present times is indulged in. It would also have conduced to clearness to have kept out all historical criticism even out of that. It is not so done. In the tracing of the history, one meets with all kinds of remarks, several of them not well supported or sound, which only distracts the mind, and gives no clear impression of what is recommended in the book and what is regarded as evil. The critiques in two chapters of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the views expressed therein, several of them, are of a very controversial character, and seem to be unduly dominated by a certain kind of hostility to Brahmanism. It is not likely that many people would agree that the Ramayana was written to contest the claims of the

Brahman, nor would many of the details given in that chapter and in that of the Mahabharata would be accepted readily by those that are engaged in a serious study of these at the present moment. We can hardly go into the details here. While the book does give clear indication of the author's great reading, we cannot say that it presents the ideal clearly for the purpose intended.

THE SPHOTASIDDHI OF ĀCĀRYA MAṆḌANA MIŚRA WITH THE GOPĀLIKĀ OF ṚṢIPUTRA PARAMEŚVARA

By

VEDAVISARADA S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI.

(*No. 6 of the Madras University Samskrit Series.*)

This work is a welcome addition to the numerous philosophical works which have been recently brought to light by South Indian scholars. As the title signifies, the work contains a "Demonstration of the Doctrine of Sphoṭa" which, in its later technical sense, is only an interesting curiosity; but in its original and deeper sense is one of the boldest speculations of the idealistic Hindu mind. The "Sphoṭa-Vāda" in its technical sense means the doctrine that a word पद् is more than the sounds वर्ण composing it, which '*bursts forth*' as a result of all the sounds coming back to memory *simultaneously* after the last sound is heard; and in this sense the doctrine dates probably from three or four centuries before the Christian era. But in its essence it goes back to a much earlier age—to the Vedic period, when *Vāc* was deified as an eternal force moving among gods and constituting their vitality, and when the term "*Brahman*" which primarily signifies only 'vastness' or 'growth' (from बृह्=वृध compare also "प्रवाक सृष्वं तुनुदे बृहन्तम्") was employed in the sense of word or prayer believed to be the principle of growth which pervades the Universe. Like the Upaniṣadic word "Udgītha" which meant "the singing forth" of the Divine Musician, the word "Sphoṭa" literally 'breaking out' or 'bursting forth', like that of a seed into a sprout, was only another metaphor for denoting the emergence of Creation from the transcendental Reality. On the basis of the unity of language and thought शब्द came to be regarded as that noumenal Reality ब्रह्म which underlies not only the phenomenal sounds but also the world of '*arthas*' which as words they

denote. Upavarṣa, the great commentator of Mīmāmsā and Vedāntic Sūtras, whose work is irretrievably lost except what remains in the shape of a few sentences quoted here and there, rejects the 'sphoṭavāda' in its technical sense, that is, as a doctrine which regards a पद (word) as something more than its constituent वर्ण (sounds.) And following him Śaṁkara does the same. (Br. Sū I. iii.) But paradoxically enough Śaṁkarāchārya while criticising the 'Sphoṭavāda' in its technical form, supports 'शब्दनित्यतावाद' which in reality is nothing but the original sphoṭavāda minus its metaphor. That sphoṭavāda was not altogether unknown in the Vedānta schools is clear from Vāchaspati's description of it as the doctrine of "āchāryadeśiya". In the technical sense, however, the doctrine was elaborately criticised by Kumārila in his Ślokavārtika, and it is this criticism which has been principally answered in '*Sphoṭasiddhi*'.

This at once raises the question—how could Maṇḍana Miśra, a reputed pupil of Kumārila, have criticised his master in such intemporate language as दुर्विदग्ध' (ill-educated)? The commentator seems to have felt the force of this difficulty and consequently he takes the word to apply to all those schoolmen who reject the doctrine of Sphoṭa, and not to Kumārila in particular. यावन्तोऽन्ये तीर्थिकास्तैः सर्वैरवक्षिप्ते····सर्वेहि तीर्थिकाः कात्स्न्र्येनास्मत्सिद्धान्त भजानन्तः स्वसिद्धान्तानुरागवन्तोऽस्यावक्षेपं कुर्वते। अतोऽस्मित्विषेण ते निपुणाः किंतु निपुणं मन्या एवेति भावः।"
Moreover, in view of the large number of references to the chapter on Sphoṭavāda in the Ślokavārtika which have been here selected for criticism, the commentator proposes an alternative that the term दुर्विदग्ध may be taken as a characterisation of the pupils of Kumārila "शिष्याहि भट्टपादाद्युक्तयुक्तिव्यामोहितान्तः करणावर्णा नामेव वाचकत्वमभिमन्यमाना वैयाकरण सिद्धान्तमेवावजानते।" and not of Kumārila himself. This is more an evasion than a solution of the difficulty, but it no doubt shows that the commentator believes the tradition which makes Maṇḍana a pupil of Kumārila. The only other solution of the difficulty is either to reject the tradition, if that be possible, or to postulate that there were two persons bearing the same name of whom one was a pupil of Kumārila and the other was not.

Till recently it was generally believed on the authority of "Śaṁkara-Digvijaya" by Mādhava that Maṇḍana-Miśra alias Viśvarupa, a Mīmāmsaka and pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was converted by Śaṁkarāchārya to his Vedantic creed, and was admitted to *sannyāsāśrama* under the name of Sureśvarācharya. (That Viśvarūpa was the name of the later Surēśvarāchārya may seem to be borne out by the fact that a passage of the famous Vārtika

has been quoted in the Vivarṇa-Pramēya-Saṁgraha of Vidyāraṇya as an utterance of Viśvarūpāchārya. But the argument loses much of its force in view of the author of the Śaṁkara-Digvijaya and the Vivaraṇa-Pramēya-Saṁgraha being one and the same.) The identity of Muṇḍana-Miśra and Sureśvarāchārya, however, was questioned by Prof. Hiriyanna as early as 1923-24 in the J. R. A. S. on the strength of certain doctrinal differences in the works attributed to them, and of the express statements of later writers which imply a distinction between Surēśvara and Maṇḍana. This accords with a tradition which Professor Hiriyanna says he found at Sṛngeri embodied in a poem called 'Guruvaṁśa Kāvya' which described Śaṁkara as meeting Maṇḍana-Miśra first and then Surēśvara. Even Vidyāraṇya who is Madhava is supposed to be the author of the Śaṁkara-Digvijaya, is cited by the learned professor as a witness against the identity of Maṇḍana and Surēśvara on the authority of another work of the same author called "Vārtikasāra" which is an abstract of Surēśvara's "Vārtika." After recapitulating all the arguments advanced by Professor Hiriyanna —which are of varying degrees of cogency—in support of his view that Surēśvara and Maṇḍana were different persons, and apparently agreeing with him, Dr. Das Gupta writes in his recent book, (Vol. II of his "History of Indian Philosophy"): "It may, therefore, be concluded that Maṇḍana, the author of the "Brahmasiddhi," was not the same person as Surēśvara, unless we suppose than Maṇḍana was not only a Mīmāṁsā writer, but also Vedānta writer of great repute, and that his conversion by Śaṁkara meant only that he changed some of his Vedānta views and accepted those of Śaṁkara, and it was at this stage that he was called Surēśvara." This supposition is not warranted by the tradition of the 'Śaṁkara-Digvijaya.' That the Mīmāṁsā writer was also a Vedānta writer is, however, an assumption which is not impossible. For, we know that long before the time of Śaṁkara, Upavarṣa had written commentaries both on the Mīmāṁsā and the Vedānta Sûtras, and probably it was an established tradition before Śaṁkarāchārya broke it that Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta should be regarded as one continuous whole made up of two parts. Compare Rāmānujacārya's citation from Bodhāyana's Vṛtti— **संहितमेत च्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेनेतिशास्त्रैकत्वसिद्धिः**" but the real difficulty of the situation arises from such passages as that in the "Saṁkṣepa Śārîraka" where the author who is a pupil of Surēśvarācārya says that the view that Brahma and not Jīva is the *āśraya* of *ajñā* results from a careful consideration of Śaṁkara's teaching, 'discarding the opinion of Maṇḍana which travels towards a different direction' **परिहृत्य मण्डनवचस्त द्व्यन्यथा**

प्रस्थितम्" "The different direction may well be दृष्टिसृष्टिवाद which has been attributed to Maṇḍana in Vivaraṇa-pramēya-saṁgraha (ब्रह्मसिद्धिकारास्त्वेवमाहुः जीवा एवस्वाविद्ययाप्रत्येकं प्रपञ्चाकारेण ब्रह्मणि विभ्रम्यन्तिब्रह्म तु माया विशिष्टंविम्बरूपं वा न जगत्कारणम् । यच्चया दृष्टं तन्मयादृष्टमितिसंवादस्तु बहुपुरुषाव गतद्वितीय चन्द्रवत् सादृश्यादुपपद्यते)

This leads to another question: Who is the author of the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi"? Is not the view here attributed to the author of the "Brahma-siddhi" in accord with, or perhaps a development of, that of the author of the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi" who says: "पार शेष्यादात्मन एवास्त्व ज्ञानं तस्याज्ञोऽस्मीत्यतुभवदर्शनात् । तन्वात्मनोऽपि ज्ञानस्वरूपत्वादनन्य त्वाच्च ज्ञान प्रकृति त्वादिभ्यश्च हेतुभ्यो तैवाज्ञानं घटते। घटत एव।"

If so, does it point to the theory of a common author of "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi" and "Brahma-siddhi" whether he be Surēśvara or Maṇḍana, or that of two parallel thinkers, Surēśvara and Maṇḍana? While admitting the force of Prof. Hiriyanna's argument based on the passage of the Saṁkṣēpa Śārîraka quoted above, one cannot regard the argument as conclusive, for it is possible to understand the word परिहृत्य there in the sense of 'abandoning' rather than 'discarding'—so that the passage will mean that the statement made by Maṇḍana (the same as the later Surēṣvarācārya) was abandoned owing to its 'going in another direction.'

The problem of the identity of Surēṣvara and Maṇḍana requires further investigation, for which the publication of the "Brahma-siddhi" which Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppusvāmi Śāstri has undertaken, is a sinê quâ non. Prof. Hiriyanna has no doubt made out a strong case for their difference, and the editor of the "Sphoṭa-siddhi" agrees with him; but the last word on the subject can come only after *all* the works attributed to Maṇḍana and Surēśvara have been published. It is worth noting in connection with this controversy that "Śaṁkarachārya-charitam" of Govindanātha (recently published by my friend Divan Bahadur Narmadashankar D. Mehta from a manuscript in the Whish collection which is now in the India Office) speaks of only "Viśvarūpa" and not 'Maṇḍana' as the pupil of Kumārila who was vanquished and converted by Śaṁkarāchārya and who after entering *sanyāsāśrama* under the name of Surēśvara wrote the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi and the two Vartikas" "नैषकर्म्यसिद्धिनामानं वेदान्तः प्रतिपादकम् । अक रोद्ग्रन्थमेकं च वार्तिकद्वितयं च सः"

In noticing the publication of the "Sphoṭa-siddhi" of Ācārya Maṇḍana Misra we reviewed the larger question of the identity of Surēśvara and Maṇḍana. But before we conclude, we should

not omit to mention that the work under review has been furnished with an excellent Introduction by the editor, Pandit Rāmanātha Śāstri, which gives his view regarding the authorship of the work and a detailed account of the family of the commentator. The latter is very interesting.

A. B. DHRUVA.

THE SHRINE OF SOMANATH.*

Of all the Hindu shrines of western India, easily the most famous and best known is the Temple of Somanatha on the southern coast of Kathiawad. In history, the Temple is noted for the famous expedition led against it by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, the *Bhūt-Shikan* (=idol-destroyer). Again and again has the place been levelled down to the ground by the hand of the barbarian invader, but "only to rise again from its ashes, like the phœnix, as soon as the enemy had turned his back." The place, variously known as Somanath-Pattan, Prabhas-Pattan, Siva-Pattan or Sorathi-Somanatha, is a very old one, full of the traces of its bygone splendour. The region round the place contains the site where Lord Krishna eventually met his death at the hands of a careless hunter, Madhavpur where the god married Rukmini, Dwaraka, Valabhi and other well-known places. Every spot in the vicinity is hallowed ground; and in the neighbourhood are Buddhist cave temples and the shrines of Girnar and Satrunjaya, cherished by the Jainas.

Somanatha was brought into great prominence by Mula Raja of the Solanki line of Anhillavada-Pattan, about the close of the tenth century. The town and temple were sacked in 1025 A.D. by Sultan Mahmud; and in the pictureque words of Colonel Tod, "its lofty spire rising far above the blue horizon of its ocean background, the tawny banner of Shiva fluttering from its summit, the porticos and pyramid-like dome, the courts and columned aisles that surrounded them, and the numerous subordinate shrines which as satellites, heightened the splendour of this chosen dwelling of the Lord of the Moon—all (was) now levelled with the earth, or built into the walls of mosques, ruined in their turn, or into the humble dwellings of mortals." From Mr. Cousens we learn that not a vestige remains of that temple which was destroyed by the Sultan. The ruins of the temple that now exist,

* Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad (Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XLV New Imperial Series) by H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch 1931.

form the remnants of the structure built by King Kumarapala Solanki, about 1169 A.D., which itself contains portions of the still older one, built by Bhimadeva soon after the Sultan's invasion. Kinlock Forbes, writing more than half a century ago, remarked that the description of the present temple did not tally with that of the temple as it was in Mahmud's time, according to Ferista's account, and that it was improbable that the building desecrated by Mahmud would have been returned to the Hindus.

In 1279 a Muhammadan army descended again on the ill-fated shrine and destroyed it. Though it was rescued from decay, Muhammadan power was again established at that place in 1358; and Sultan Muzafar Khan, the founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, made a descent on the Somanatha shrine and destroyed it in 1395. These repeated acts of desecration have left us only the ruins of the temple, of which little now remains except portions of the walls, which had been rebuilt and patched with rubble to convert the structure into a mosque. All surface carving in the interior has been obliterated; and the pillars alone appear to stand upon the sites, and sometimes on the bases, of the original ones. The general architecture shows it to be of the eleventh century, according to Mr. Cousens who remarks that the history of the temple has never been satisfactorily traced through its successive stages, "nor is it likely to be, unless something very exceptional, in the way of inscriptions, turns up." It appears from tradition that it was in a great measure due to the appeals of a certain saint, Mangaluri Shah, who was living in the vicinity that Sultan Mahmud set out on his famous expedition. Mitha Khan, the lieutenant left by Mahmud, completed the destruction of the original temple. The story of Mahmud having carried away with him the sandalwood doors of Somanatha (paraded by the theatrical Governor General Lord Ellenborough, through the cities of India as a trophy from Afghanistan, to soothe the susceptibilities of the injured Hindus) is "a pure myth without a particle of foundation in fact;" and the great door brought from Ghazna in 1842, is not of Hindu workmanship at all. The whole incident will live in Indian History as "an instance of a clumsy forgery and a huge practical joke."

Mr. Cousens has given exhaustive accounts of the other temples and structures of mediæval Kathiawad, with an abundance of illustrations and plans, heightened in their value by the sumptuousness of the volume, so characteristic of the Indian Archæological Series.

C. S. S.

LIFE OF SUBHEDAR MALHAR RAO HOLKAR, FOUNDER OF THE INDORE STATE (1693-1766 A.D.)

By

Muntazim Bahadur, M. W. Burway, B.A.,
Assisted By
R. G. Burway, B.A., LL.B.

1930, *Holkar State Printing Press, Indore* —*pp.* 5, *v*, 255 *and* xiv.

This volume has a foreword from Mr. C. A. Kincaid who provides the reader with a good summary of the life and achievements of Malhar Rao Holkar who rose "from penniless dependence to independent greatness" and founded the ruling house of Indore. Mr. Burway, whose zeal for writing and rendering accessible pages and phases of Maratha history, has but increased with decades, gave us a few years back, a life of the late Maharaja Thukoji Rao Holkar II (1842-1886) who was the real restorer of prosperity to the Holkar's State in the 19th century and stood the British in good stead during the dark days of the Mutiny. He has also written a Life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar who sustained, for a period of 30 years, the greatness of the heritage of Malhar Rao Holkar, and whose memory is still piously preserved by the people of Maharashtra; and he followed this up with another biography, that of Mahadji Sindia, the great soldier and statesman, who hardly appears as a Maratha at all in the accounts written of him by H. G. Keene, G. D. Oswell and Sir James Campbell, and appears, in Mr. Burway's pages, with all his limitations as well as his greatness as a Mahratha.

To these he has now added a copious account of Malhar Rao Holkar about whom he contends that proper justice has not been rendered by other writers including recent historians like Mr. G. S. Sardesai. The book is documented fully, but marked with an overstress which may be excused, on the significance of the achievements of Malhar Rao and with frequent digressions on the activities of the Peishwas and the development of Mahratha power in other places. Malhar Rao whose original surname was Virkar, was given that of Holkar from his native village of Hol in the Poona District. He learnt his first military lessons under Sardar Kadam Bande and entered the service of the Peishwas in 1717, in the course of Balaji Vishwanath's expedition to Delhi at the request of the Sayyad Brothers. The standard of the Bande family

is still borne before the chiefs of the House of Holkar, in grateful memory of the lift given to Malhar Rao by the Kadam Bandes. Baji Rao I had the fullest confidence in Malhar Rao and gave him, after his campaign in Malwa, the right of levy for himself *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Central India. In 1732 he obtained Indore, then a small town, by the Peishwa's orders for his *khas-gi* which is described in its peculiar character in a separate chapter. This *khas-gi* grant which was a special *inam*, being deemed the estate of the consort of the ruler and was later renewed by Madhava Rao I, Peishwa, in favour of Rani Ahilya Bai.

Malhar Rao shared in all the campaigns of the Peishwa and his participation is illustrated by Mr. Burway from letters of Chimnaji Appa and Baji Rao to Brahmendra Swami. Loyally did Malhar Rao keep on clinging to Balaji Baji Rao, when unpatriotic Maratha *sardars* like Janoji Nimbalkar and Ramchandra Rao. Jadhav who were in the service of the Nizam tried to detach him from the Peishwa's side. Mr. Burway explains why Malhar Rao could not be of much use in the Panipat campaign and did not show any initiative. He does not agree with Mr. Sardesai in holding that, if the Marathas had ceded the Punjab to Ahmad Shah the disaster of Panipat might have been avoided, and contends that there was no reason for the Marathas to anticipate an unfavourable result. According to Mr. Sardesai in his *Selections from the Peishwa's Daftar: Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat* 1747-1761; p. iv Gangoba Chandrachud and his master Malhar Rao Holkar were the only persons who gave the alarm of the coming danger to Sadashiv Bhau, who merely sneered at them as cowards. Mr. Burway states that the Mahrattas left no stone unturned for retrieving the disaster and Raghoba even thought of a second expedition in pursuit of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who sent, later, in 1763, an envoy to Poona courting the Peishwa's favour, "as is evident from the Peishwa's Diaries edited by Rao Bahadur Wad;" while a letter dated 17-6-1761 sent to the Peishwa (and extracted by Mr. Sardesai) notes the arrival at Delhi, of Yakub Ali Khan, Abdali's envoy, to effect a reconciliation with the Marathas.

The subsequent career of Malhar Rao, particularly his protection of Mahadji Sindia against the wrath of Raghoba, is traced in detail and in a manner that brings out the nobler traits in his character. He is also shown to have appreciated Devi Ahilya Bai's qualities and entrusted to her several important affairs even during his life-time. The book would be very much better if the typographical and other small errors *had* been *eliminated.*

C. S. S.

LIFE AND TIMES OF SHIVAJI II (CHATRAPATI SHAHU) 1680-1749 A.D.

By
Muntazim Bahadur, M. W. Burway,
Assisted By
R. G. Burway,
1932—*published by Mr. M. W. Burway, Indore.*

In this, the latest book from the prolific pen of Mr. Burway, the Life of Shahu has been added to the series of Maratha biographies that he has written already Lieutenant-Colonel L. E. Lang, Resident at Kolhapur, which state was formed on the division of the house of the great Shivaji into two branches in 1712, *viz.*, the Kolhapur line of Sambhaji, the son of Rajaram, and the Satara line of Shahu, son of Sambhaji and grandson of the founder of Maratha greatness. Shahu Chatrapati had a long reign of 41 years which witnessed far-reaching changes in the history of India and also of Maharashtra. His long sojourn in the Mughal court and subsequent release to ascend the throne of Maharashtra after promising solemn allegiance to the Mughal power are deemed by Mr. Burway and others to have been the main impediment in the realisation of the Peishwas' aim of building up a *Hindu Pad-Padshahi;* and the extension of the Maratha empire was a work which the Chatrapati was prevailed upon to consent to, only after a great amount of persuasion on the part of Baji Rao I. The most difficult problem that confronted Shahu after his coronation was how to deal with Tara Bai and how to square his own interests with hers. The crafty Nizamu'l-Mulk supported the Kolhapur branch for a number of years; and it was only in 1730 that Sambhaji concluded a treaty limiting the Kolhapur territory to the tract between the rivers Varna and Krishna. A great part of the present work is taken up with the achievements of the Peishwas. In chapter IX, Mr. Burway holds that the Peishwas could not be charged with the usurpation of Shahu's authority and that the deeds delivered to Balaji Baji Rao by Shahu were genuine beyond any shadow of doubt and voluntarily given after much consideration. Of course he shows that Shahu was a real live-force in the state and was the unifying symbol of its distended, and perhaps also disjointed rule. His authority was personal rather than official as Professor H. N. Sinha says. *The Selections from the Peishwa's Daftar, No. 17 (Shahu and Baji Rao, Administrative)* tell us how the sovereign and the minister acted and reacted upon each other and how the latter was occasionally reprimanded for measures which did not satisfy the former; but in times of crisis

it was to the Peishwa that Shahu looked to steer the vessel of state safely out of troubled waters. To use a picturesque metaphor: "The King was now the sinking sun; and the Peishwa was the rising moon orbed in his light." After Shahu, the inevitable happened; and the sovereign sank into total insignificance.

Mr. Burway has done a good service to Maratha history by making Shahu the subject of his biography, as he has been usually overshadowed by the prominence given to his ministers by his critics like Grant-Duff, Kincaid, etc. He has given us a picture of Maratha social life in the time of Shahu and shown that the civil administration of the country was far more humane than that of the surrounding regions.

C. S. S.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT.

(Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Part I.), by T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Archæological Assistant, Madras Museum.—Madras Government Press, 1929.—pp. 44, and 12 plates—Price Rs. 2-12-0.

The Goli Stupa, adjoining the village of Goli, Guntur District, is on the line between Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Some of the marbles of the Stupa, which were of small dimensions, are still on the site, including a big and beautifully-sculptured seven-hooded Naga, while the others have been transported to the Madras Museum. Dr. G. Jovean-Dubreuil of Pondicherry was in fact responsible for the discovery and partial excavation of the Stupa. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes in this book the sculptures that are now in the Madras Museum, and gives a short note on the sculptured slabs that are still on the site, having been built into a small fane in honour of the seven-hooded Naga in the big slab. Some of the Jātaka stories and episodes in the life of the Buddha are sculptured on the friezes, including the Chaddanta Jātaka, the Vessantara Jātaka, the temptation of the Buddha, and the Śaśa Jātaka, all of which are also shown in the Amaravati sculptures. The Amaravati school of sculpture of the later period had its sway over the art of the neighbouring places like Goli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Rāmireḍḍipalli. Though no definite indication of the date of the Goli Stupa has been discovered, its sculptures resemble most the slabs of sculpture at Amaravati of the fourth period. The author examines critically the resemblance, particularly as regards the subjects treated; and "the Śaśa

Jātaka and the temptation of the Buddha by Māra especially, and to a lesser extent, the Vessantara Jātaka and the subjugation of Nalagiri point to a close relationship between the Goli Stupa and the fourth period at Amarāvati," while the paleography of the inscription found on a chaitya slab of Goli helps to corroborate the evidence of the sculptures. In two of the Goli sculptures, the Buddha is depicted as having a loose robe, hanging from the neck to the toes and completely covering the body and nearly the whole of his under clothing; this type usually characterises the Kushana style of sculpture, along with the posture of hands raised level with the shoulders. The suggestion was first made by Dr. Dubreuil and is accepted by Mr. Ramachandran that this type of Buddha came into general use in the fourth period of Amarāvati, and the figures of the Goli Stupa were probably carved about the same time. The latter stupa itself is very small and the style of the carving does not suggest that the sculptures were done at different periods. Thus the stupa was built about the same time when the Kushana influence on Buddhist sculpture was slowly descending to South India from the 2nd century A.D. and reached the Krishna region a little later. An appendix attempts to explain why there are no traces of Buddhist remains in Dravida-desa south of Amarāvati. A comparative table gives the subjects treated by the Buddhistic sculptors in Goli and at Amarāvati in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th periods.

C. S. S.

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APPENDIX I.

Two Uttaramallur Inscriptions of Parantaka I*

(Rules for election, etc., of rural assemblies, etc.)

By

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UTTARAMALLŪR INSCRIPTIONS ON ELECTION, ETC.,

These two inscriptions were brought to public notice in the Government Epigraphist's Annual Report for 1897-98[1] for the first time. The late Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India published these inscriptions in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1904-1905[2]. Since then much more light has been shed upon the matter by the very large number of inscriptions since collected and published. The late Mr. Venkayya's edition and exposition of the inscriptions were all that could be expected at the time; but the inscriptions are of sufficient importance, and the information twice made public of sufficient value, to necessitate a new edition of the inscriptions. The inscriptions themselves have been re-read from the impressions kindly lent by the Archaeological Department for the purpose, and just a few modifications have been made in the reading. While acknowledging with the greatest pleasure my obligation to the previous edition of Mr. Venkayya, I have tried to put into it as much of information as has become available since, and made slight

[These inscriptions were prepared for publication in the Epigraphia Indica. The Government Epigraphist regrets that the modifications of the text are not sufficient to warrant publication of these for a second time by the Department. Advantage therefore is taken of the permission accorded by the Government of India, conveyed in their order No. A-637 dated 17th October 1930, to publish them in the Journal of Indian History in a revised form and with additional notes. The late Mr. Venkayya's article is published *verbatim* in pages 212-245 of my Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University on the "Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India", published by the University. Editor.]

1. Pages 18-21.
2. Pages 131-145.

modifications in the previous edition wherever they seemed called for. They are all indicated in their respective places.

The first point calling for attention is the name of the village. As Mr. Venkayya has pointed out, it is a village 10½ miles north-west of Madhurāntakam, a station on the Madras-Villupuram section of the South Indian Railway, less than 20 miles beyond Chingleput. It is a comparatively large village, at least it must have been, and there are as many as seven temples in the village, all of them containing inscriptions. The most important of these temples however seems to have been the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple, which contains a pretty large number of inscriptions, the number being as many as 71 according to the Epigraphist's report of 1898. A number of these have already been published in Volume III[3] of the South Indian Inscriptions in the usual form with translation, introduction, etc., and practically all the rest of them in the more recent volumes[4] of the South Indian Inscriptions, which publish only the texts. The whole inscriptional material therefore is before us in some form.

The name Uttaramallūr is a popular corruption. It is usual to tack on the affix *nallūr* to names of villages, where one wishes to be formal, the meaning of the term being "the good town". The last part of the word in Uttaramallūr apparently is what is intended to stand for *nallūr*. The coming in of the *m*, and the dropping out of the *n*, require explanation. It seems to be that the word had been formed from Uttaramēru and nallūr modified into *mallūr*. The inscriptions however uniformly refer to the town as Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam. According to architectural works towns inhabited by Brahmans (*dvijas*, twice-born) ought to be called *mangalam*. The Tamil *nallūr* may be taken more or less to be the equivalent of it. *Chaturvēdimangalam* would then mean the auspicious village (*mangalam*) inhabited by "the exponents of the four Vedas" (*Chaturvēdi*). Chaturvēdimangalam therefore is a village inhabited primarily by Brahmans learned in the Vedas, the four Vedas. Usually these Brahman villages are established by some person or other of distinction, and in such cases—and these are a very large number—it takes the name or title of the individual whose foundation it is, and hence, as Mr. Venkayya has noted in the great majority of cases, it is a proper name that we see in the first part. Arguing on that analogy, Mr. Venkayya has taken Uttaramēru, the first part of

3. S. I. I. III. iii. 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 167, 171, 177, 183, 193 and 195.
4. S. I. I. VI. Nos. 283-325 and 332-377.

the word here to be the title of a person and gives as his reason that a similar name Prabhamēru is used for a Western Ganga king.[5] "Therefore," according to him, "Uttaramēru may be taken to be the surname of some ancient Pallava or Ganga-Pallava king who founded the village."

In the Bāna genealogy, it is not only the term Prabhamēru that occurs, but also a similar term Jayamēru. In compounds like that, the particle *Mēru* ought to be regarded as symbolical of excellence as Indra, Chandra, etc., in Sanskrit, so that *Prabhumēru* may be regarded as the most excellent among *Prabhus,* the great ones, and *Jayamēru,* great among the victorious ones and so on. A similar interpretation for Uttaramēru would be difficult. As Mr. Venkayya himself has pointed out, this place may have been called *Uttaramēru* possibly because of the previous existence of a *Dakshinamēru* in the region. Chidambaram, as is pointed out by him, has a sacerdotal name Dakshinamēru. Later, another shrine in the great Tanjore temple seems to have had that name. Mēru in the north is the abode of the Gods in Hindu tradition, and when a particularly holy place had been brought into existence in the south, it was called Dakshinamēru as if the Gods themselves had been brought into residence from the northern Mēru to the south. That is a notion of very common occurrence among the Hindus. For an analogy Dakshiṇkailāsa applies to a place like Kāḷahasti, and Dakshiṇakāśi not only to Tenkāśi in the Tinnevelly District but to other places as well; so Dakshiṇa Kēdāram for the now ruined Beḷagāmvē in Mysore. Dakshinamēru for Chidambaram on that basis would be quite valid. If another holy centre like Chidambaram itself had been brought into existence in the Tamil country with the great fame of Chidambaram before it, calling the place by the name Mēru itself would put it on a higher footing than an analogue of Mēru in the south. So Mēru itself would have served the purpose; but there being a Dakshiṇamēru of great fame, the founders of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, and of all the temples in it, must have called it Uttaramēru by way of contrast to Chidambaram without there having been a man by name or with a title Uttaramēru. Uttaramēru would be a peculiar name for a person, and we should not make the presumption, unless we have at least an example to quote. But, with the satisfactory alternative explanation, it is hardly necessary to presume that. The name would therefore be the Chaturvēdimangalam or the Brahman settlement of Uttaramēru, the two standing in opposition. For other examples with-

5. Epi. Ind. III, p. 75.

out a person's name for villages like these, names like Tiruvaranga-chaturvēdimangalam for a Brahman village known as Śengaḷūr in the Tinnevelly[6] District, and what is called Srīmāhēsvara-chaturvēdimangalam, again in the vicinity of Tinnevelly[7] known as Kaṇṇanur would serve. Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam therefore is a Brahman village of holy Uttaramēru, which name for the village would be appropriate as the abode of many gods on account of the large number of temples that it actually contained.

The two inscriptions that follow are in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple in the locality. They are engraved close to one another in the west wall of the shrine. The following specifications given are from Mr. Venkayya's report. The second, or the larger of these, occupies a space 23 feet by 4¼. The first occupies 1'-10" with a length of 9 1/3rd feet. The last three lines of these inscriptions extend to a length of 26 feet 8 inches. The writing is well executed, the average size of the letters being about an inch. The characters are mixed Tamil and Grantha of the period of Parāntaka. As Mr. Venkayya notes, two forms of *na* are used, one of them the lingual being the older; and the loops of the dental *n* are also fully developed. In these two inscriptions they are used notwithstanding, without the fixed modern distinction. The shorter and the earlier inscription, that is A, uses the former more generally than the latter. The symbol for the long *a* which takes the same form as *ra* in modern Tamil is here quite distinct, the vowel augment being a short vertical stroke, while the sign for *ra* occupies the whole height. Even this distinction is not strictly kept up in the second of these inscriptions as in the first. Another form of this augment is a semi-loop on the right side of the letter, and this form occurs in a large number of cases in the course of the inscription. The double *k*, *kk*, is sometimes written as a group. The lengthening of the *i* and the *u* are not marked in the case of letters like *m*, l, *d*, *l* and *r*.

In regard to orthography, Mr. Venkayya notes the following peculiarities:—

1. The dental *t* is used for the soft lingual *d* as in *cantra*, *deventra* (line ii of A and line 16 of B), and similar words as in Tamil inscriptions generally;

2. The hard *k* takes the place of the soft *g* in *mankala* (line 18 of B).

6. S. I. I. V. 448.
7. Ibid. 446.

In the transcript of the text of the inscriptions, I have corrected the *g* into *k* wherever in the original the *k* is found written. I have made this correction for two reasons;—(1) Tamil orthography to which these inscriptions are in the process of coming into very close approximation show this feature peculiar to Tamil, although in several places phonetically the *g* may be justifiable which is not correct Tamil orthography; (2) the soft *g* is used to transcribe correctly the Grantha *ga*, and the use of *g* for both is likely to cause confusion, so that in my transcript of the inscriptions, the *g* is to be understood to stand for the *ga* only, not the Tamil *ka*.

Again in a word like *śauśa* for *śauca* (lines 5 of A and 4 and 15 of B) and *śaridai* for *charitai* (line 16 of B), the one Tamil letter *śa* is generally used without the distinction that the Grantha alphabet makes. (There again the revised transcript follows the Tamil usage to be correct to the original text).

One other distinct feature is where a letter ends in *m*, which, under the rules of Tamil phonetics, would be transformed into a nasal corresponding to the following consonant; we often have a combination instead in these inscriptions, consisting of the *m* and the corresponding nasal letter. e.g.,

Vāriyaṁñjeygiṅṛa, (line 8 of B).
Pēriluṁndōṭṭa, (line 11 of B).
Ātma becomes *āṅma*, (line 4 of B), and *vidyā* becomes *vijyā*, (line 11 of B), in both cases justifiably.

The language is Tamil prose. A few Sanskrit words are intermixed, and even a few Tamil words or parts of them are written in Grantha. Among peculiarities, *ār ān* long are sometimes used for *ar* and *an*. e.g.,

panniruvāraium, (line 7 of A).
panniruvārilum and *aruvār*, (line 10 of A).
māmān[8], (line 5 of B).

Other examples which may be errors are:
mēlpāṭṭār, (line 4 of A).
pārāntakadēvan, (line 1 of B).
mākkaḷaiyum, (line 5 of B).
paradrāviyam, (line 7 of B).
māhāsabhai, (lines 9-10 of B).

8. This form of the word is used in Āṇḍāḷ's Tiruppāvai 9-37 and Aruvār (line 14 of B).

The Sanskrit word *ājña* occurs in the intermediary *añai* (lines 1 and 12 of A; line 16 of B), which is anterior to the full Tamil form *āṇai; viddha* (lines 10 and 12 of B) occurs for the Sanskrit *vṛddha*, approaching to the Prākrit form *vaḍḍha*. Forms with double *tt*, such as *illāttār* (lines 4 of A, and 4 of B), *allāttār*, and *ariyāttān* (lines 6 of A), *paḍāttār* (line 6 of B) occur for the modern Tamil *illāthā, allāthār, ariyāthān, paḍāthān*. This form seems to correspond to the forms in Malayāḷam. Forms like *iḍuvidā* (line 3 of B), *koḷvidu* (line 12 of B), and *koḷuvidu* (line 4 of B), and *āvidu* (lines 7 and 10 of A) are unliterary forms in Tamil, though popular.

The addition of *ya* after *i*, or *ai* at the end of a word is found in a large number of cases, e.g.,

kuḍumbilārēy (line 3 of A);
vāḷiyēy (line 6 of A);
minbēy (line 7 of A);
manḍahattilēy and *naḍuvēy* (line 10 of B); and
kuḍavōylaiy (line 13 of B).

In this case, the appearance of the *y*, permissible under the rules of coalescence of Tamil words, are brought in where really there need be no coalescence. The insertion of this *y* in the middle of a word does not appear to be quite so common, though it does occur in the following examples, e.g.,

ōduviytt ariyvān (line 3 of B);
arīyvān (line 4 of B); and
anaiyvar (lines 8 and 9 of B).

In forms like *śēda* (line 2 of B), and *śēdu* (lines 8 and 16 of B), the *ya* is omitted, and the preceding vowel lengthened.

Ungrammatical doubling of consonants occur in the following cases:

akamm eḍuttu (line 3 of B).
āṟṟāll eḍuttu (line 10 of B).
anantaramm iḍun (line 13 of B).
śauśamm uḍaiyān (line 15 of B).
bhaṭṭann ākiya (line 17 of B).

The word *āṇaiāl* for *āṇaiyāl* (line 16 of B) breaks the ordinary rule for coalescence.[9]

9. Vide Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭiḷavarman. I. A. XXII, 68; cf. Śingamangalam Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, 320.

The following colloquial forms occur: —

āccidin for *ānadin* (line 15 of B).
pariccu (line 9 of A) for *parittu.*
ittiṇai (line 6 of B) for *ittuṇai.*
anju (line 11 of B) for *aiyndu.*

There is a wrong form used for *śuddar ānān* (line 7 of B). *Śuddar* is plural, *ānān* is singular. Either both must be plural, or both must be singular. In the word *samvatsaravāriyaraiyum* (line 12 of B), the accusative form is wrongly used for the nominative. The form *śeiyāhiṅṟār* (line 12 of B) for *śeyyāniṅṟār* is peculiar. Mr. Venkayya suspects the possibility of the engraver correcting the *ki* into *ni.* The word *paniraḍu* in line 1 of A for Tamil *panniraṇḍu* shows two peculiarities. The *n* is not doubled, and the nasal before the *ḍ* is omitted. The Kannaḍa form for the Tamil *raṇḍu* is *eraḍu;* but even Kannaḍa doubles the *n* in the first part of the word for ten. *Iraḍu* may be a possible Tamil form. The above notes are mostly the late Mr. Venkayya's.

The king to whose reign the following two inscriptions refer themselves is known to historians as Parāntaka I, and referred to generally in inscriptions as Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman Parāntaka. He came to the throne on a date between January 15 and July 25 of the year A. D. 907.[10] He was the son of Āditya I whom the inscriptions refer to as the one who died at Toṇḍaman Āṟṟūr.[11] He was ruler not only over the Chola country but even the Pallava country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which came to be known also as Jayamkoṇḍacholamaṇḍalam in an inscription of the third year of Parāntaka A.D. 909-10.[12] He is already given credit for having defeated the contemporary Pāṇḍya ruler Rājasimha, and captured his capital city Madura. This achievement gave him the title Maduraikoṇḍa, and this event must have taken place in the year A.D. 909-10. Rājasimha Pāṇḍya is referred to as the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha III, the donor of the grant in the larger Śinnamanūr plates recently published in the South Indian Inscriptions.[13] As a result of this invasion, Rājasimha seems to have sought the assistance of the contemporary Ceylon ruler Kaśśpa V, who came

10. No. 735 of 1905, No. 34 of 1900. Also Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, i and volume VIII, 261.
11. S. I. I. III. iii. No. 142 and Ep. Rep. 1907, p. 71, f.
12. A. R. E. 1906-07, part ii, para 32; also No. 29 of 1907.
13. Vol. III, part 4, S. I. I.

to the throne in A.D. 906, according to Hultsch's revised chronology.[14] This Kaśśapa, according to the same authority, ruled till A.D. 916 or A.D. 917. The Mahāvaṁśa states that before the death of Kaśśapa the Pāṇḍya king sent many presents to him and begged his assistance against the Cholas who harassed his country. Kaśśapa is said to have complied with the request and sent an army across to his assistance. Rājasimha led both the armies against Parāntaka, but was defeated. He retired leaving the Singhalese to carry on the war alone. After suffering from disease and losing their general, the army returned. This must have happened about the year A.D. 916 or 917. Kaśśapa's successor ruled only for seven months and was succeeded by Dapula VI. Driven to desperation after suffering this defeat, Rājasimha went over to Ceylon to induce the Ceylon king to organise and fit out another invasion. Owing to great disturbance in Ceylon itself, the enterprise did not mature, and the Pāṇḍya had to betake himself to the Kēraḷa country, leaving his crown and other paraphernalia in Ceylon. Among these latter was "the necklace of Indra." These events must have taken place in A.D. 917-918. There seems however to have been a war with the Ceylonese, as a result of which Parāntaka assumed the title Sangrāma-Rāghava. In the interval between these two Pāṇḍyan wars, the Gangas had been reduced to subjection. The Bāṇa country was conquered and given over to the Ganga feudatory Prithvīpati II. The Mahārājavāḍi country in the Cuddapah District was taken over from the Vaiḍumba chief Sandaiyan. This is probably what is referred to in the Tirupārkaḍal inscription of A.D. 918,[15] which states that a battle had been fought at Vēḷūr. He is said to have married a Kēraḷa princess and by her had the son Arinjinga, the third of his sons as the Anbil plates[16] of his grandson mention it. The Kēraḷas seem to have been more or less tributary to Parāntaka ever since. During the first fifteen years of his reign, Parāntaka had brought practically the whole of the Tamil country under his control. His inscriptions are found in the Pāṇḍya country, in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts. His inscriptions[17] are found as far north as Kāḷahasti. On the west, his authority, at any rate his influence, extended to the sea, as he married a Kēraḷa princess.[18]

14. J. R. A. S. 1913, 525.
15. No. 693 of 1904.
16. Epi. Ind. Vol. XV, 44, f.
17. A. R. 1903-4, 25.
18. S. I. I. Vol. II, 379.

The third invasion of the south was undertaken by Parāntaka later in the reign, and the earliest reference to this seems to be of the year A.D. 938.[19] Inscriptions of his 40th year refer to his invasion of Ceylon.[20] This is the war that is described in the Mahāvaṁśa, chapters XLII and XLIV. The Ceylon king at the time was Udaya, a worthless monarch according to this account, from whom Parāntaka demanded the crown-jewels that the Pāṇḍya had left Ceylon. Naturally Udaya refused. An expedition was sent. Udaya was defeated, and the jewels were carried back to the mainland; according to the chronicle, an expedition was sent against the Chola kingdom, and the regalia in question were recovered and taken back to Udaya's capital. This is just possible, as about this time after A.D. 941, the year of Udaya's accession, Parāntaka's territory was actually threatened by an invasion from the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions under Krishna III. The period, A.D. 940 to 950, was occupied by these invasions, in resisting which both Parāntaka and his eldest son Rājāditya were actually engaged, the prince actually falling in battle at Takkolam near Arkonam. From the above, it is clear that Parāntaka's rule extended over all the Tamil country to the frontier of Nellore in the north, except during the last quarter of his reign when certain parts of his territory in the north in particular, seem to have passed into the occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Otherwise the Chola kingdom had been rendered compact, and remained strong during the greater part of his reign.

We have stated already that these inscriptions pertain respectively to his 12th and 14th year, and would mean respectively the years A.D. 919-20 and A.D. 921-22. By the time that we come to the period of Parāntaka's rule, rural administration in the south seems to have attained to the condition of a systematic organisation which worked satisfactorily, exhibiting at the same time flaws here and there such as are incidental to the working of a complicated system. It ought not to be inferred from these circulars of Parāntaka that he organised this system, which, as we have actually shown elsewhere,[21] reaches back to many centuries anterior to the days of Parāntaka. Uttaramallūr was one of the bigger localities with a pretty complicated administration. It seems to have showed certain defects in the working, particularly a disinclination to act up strictly to the requirements of the rules and

19. No. 605 of 1904; Vide A. E. R. 1904-05, para 8.
20. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, page 1.
21. See my Sir William Meyer Lectures, Madras University for 1929-30.

understandings, which guided rural administration. It is this unhealthy tendency that seems to have called for the intervention of Parāntaka, though it is not made clear in the inscriptions themselves whether this intervention came of the king's own initiative, or as a result of application from the township concerned. It looks very much like having been brought about by a demand from the locality itself, the irregularity having been brought to the notice of the headquarters. The offences seem to have been particularly the neglect to render accounts and an attempt to get rid of the responsibility by evasion. The inference naturally would be that unworthy people having got into these offices had led to this disregard of the norms of rural life. When therefore the rules were attempted to be fixed, it was done with an eye to exclude the undesirables of the village from any part in the administration, and to introduce an orderly working in the system. That seems to be what is actually meant by the expression in the inscription, "in order that the wicked may be destroyed and the virtuous prosper."

The next point calling for attention is if the order issued in the first instance was sufficient to meet this, as it must have been so felt, why issue a second, hardly two years after? Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the local ruler sent out in the first instance, was a Śūdra provincial officer, whose order did not remove the evils satisfactorily; and that the sending out of a Brahman officer from the headquarters mended matters. The object in both cases seems to have been exactly the same, to keep unworthy men from getting elected, and making it possible for the really worthy men to get in. The first record seems to have been drawn up undoubtedly with a view to attaining this, but perhaps with some little haste. The really noticeable differences between the two records are in this:—

1. In the first, the age fixed for those carrying on the administration had been fixed as between 30 and 65. In the second, it is altered to 35 and 70. The object of this could have been merely to bring in the really more mature people and keep out the younger ones for one thing;

2. The second adds to the franchise list, those that had not the property qualification alone, nor the minimum qualification in learning alone, and included in those possessed of a lower standard of landed property and a comparatively similar lower standard of learning together. Being a Brahman settlement, the difference that this would make would certainly be very considerable. There is perhaps a little more rigorous exclusion of the

relations of those who had proved themselves unworthy of the trust, particularly in regard to public responsibility like that of administering a department of the rural concerns. The relations to be excluded are worked out in detail in the second document. Hence the difference is not actually a difference due to the character of the governor, but much rather the removal of defects in the drafting, such as may have shown themselves when the rules were put into practice. Beyond that we are not entitled to infer anything else from the records themselves.

One other point in regard to this. In both the inscriptions the royal commands were received by the officer. The officer not merely showed the order to the village assembly, but was present, as the word *Irundu* would show. Mr. Venkayya does not give full weight to another term that is used. The expression used is in both inscriptions, *Irundu Vāriyam āka,* which would mean that the governor in either case was not merely present, as would be indicated by the first word, but he was something more than merely present. He occupied the position of *Vāriyam.* This would be the position either of a President of the assembly, or of its convenor. Perhaps convenor would be nearer correct for the term *Vāriyam* than even president, and the local governor seems therefore to have acted as convener of the assembly. The matter was put before the assembly as a royal writ by the governor of the division, but it had to be accepted and approved of by the full assembly and issued as the orders of the Mahāsabhā.

There is one term *Panchavāravāriyam,* which occurs in these inscriptions in line 10 of A and line 14 of B. So far as the election procedure goes, it merely indicates that the *Panchavāram* Committee was a committee like the other committees, although it is referred to as distinct from the three committees, *Samvatsaravāriyam, Tōṭṭavāriyam* and *Ērivāriyam,* and is in these documents associated with the *Ponvāriyam* or gold committee. The only indication is that the standard measure is sometimes called the *Panchavāram* measure,[22] which may imply that the *Panchavāram* committee may be an administrative committee, whose function it was to look after and regulate matters of general administrative interest, such as market regulations, including measures, weights, etc. The actual significance of the words themselves had so far remained a puzzle. Not that the words are recondite. The term is compounded of three words, *Pancha, vāra* and *vāriyam.*

22. S. I. I. III, M. iii. Nos. 151 and 203.

Of course, *Pancha* means five, and *vāriyam* means management consisting either of a representative committee, or an individual managing or conducting the duty of a body. But the actual difficulty has been in the word *vāram,* which had been somewhat misunderstood so far. From these inscriptions we learn the committee was an annual committee, but composed actually of six members, chosen by the combined processes of election and lot, as in the case of other committees. *Vāra* is a term, which seems to be Sanskritic in its origin, but is used frequently even in Tamil, classical Tamil, and means ordinarily time, the number of times that a thing is done or said. The most familiar use of the expression is in the expression *Ēkavāra Bhojanam,* which means one meal a day. That seems what is implied when the term is applied in dancing to the womanfolk that sing in accompaniment of the person that dances. This occurs in the Tamil expression *Vāram Pāḍudal,* and the class of people who do that are defined as *vāram pāḍum tōriya makaḷ,*[23] that is, dancing women who, grown too old for the art, engage themselves in singing to the accompaniment of one that dances, singing simultaneously. We find the term used in that sense in the Śilapadhikāram; *tōriya maḍandaiyar vāram pāḍa.* The term is used for the second of the four modes of singing and dancing, and seems to be one mode of dancing to the accompaniment of music.[24] Where therefore not merely music, but even the Veda had to be chanted by turns, the assembly which does so by turns seems to be called *Vāra-ghoṣṭi,* that is an assembly got up specially for the purpose of reciting the Veda in alternate chants. The compound word may mean the ghaṇa or body of people capable of chanting the Veda. That is clearly the sense in which the term is used in the Chāḷukya grants, to which Keilhorn made reference, and to which Mr. Venkayya refers in his preface to these inscriptions.[25] Keilhorn in editing these inscriptions cited instances from a northern grant in the Epigraphia Indica,[26] where the term occurs several times as *Vāra-Mukhya* or *Vāra-Mukha,* in both cases, meaning no more than those that were chief among a group or *ghaṇa.* The meaning *ghaṇa* for the word *vāram* has the authority of Vaijayanti Nighanṭu to support it, and the word *vāra* actually occurs among

23. Śilappadhikāram. III, ll 133-4 and commentary thereon; also other reference following See III. 67; 136-7 and p. 383.
24. Śilappadhikāram III. 67 and comments thereon.
25. See 135, A.S.R. 1904-05 and Epi. Ind. Vol. V. 138. n. 7.
26. Śiyadoni Inscription: Epi. Ind. Vol. I. 173 ff.

the synonyms of *ghaṇa*. The Vaijayanti is not of a date very far from the times to which these inscriptions refer. *Vāra-Mukhya* therefore and even *Vāra-Mukha* could be interpreted naturally as *ghaṇa-Mukhya*, or the more prominent people of a group, community or the locality. Therefore *Vāra-vāriyam* would mean just exactly the same as *Vāra-Mukhya* or *Vāra-Mukha*, those that can stand up and speak for a group. But the actual difficulty in adopting that meaning for *Pancha-vāra-vāriyam* consists in what are the five groups under reference. *Pancha-vāra-vāriyam* in the sense of five groups possibly had its origin in the Tamil five groups known as *aim-peruṁ-kuḷu*, constituting society, according to Divākaram. So it must have had reference to the five groups constituting an organised society, or more loosely, society as a whole. A small committee set up to do certain general work which has to be done by the whole body of people would perhaps just answer. The Committee of six therefore may be regarded as a general administrative committee elected for every year and composed of six members only to do the general duties of the group as a whole.[27]

The two inscriptions, the B being a little more elaborate and more logically arranged, fall clearly into a number of sections.

1. The qualifications for membership of these committees.

2. The features which disqualify from membership. Of these there are a number of sub-divisions given:

 (a). The defaulting committee members and their relations, even somewhat remote;

 (b). Incorrigible sinners and those related to them in the same degree as above;

 (c). Those fallen out, or thrown out, of caste till they perform their expiatory ceremonies and get purified;

 (d). Those who are mentally or morally unequal to the responsibilities; and

 (e). Certain persons with excusable blemishes disqualified in their own persons without the contamination implied in the case of others.

3. The method of selection of committee members.

4. The usual number of committees for the year, and what number constituted these committees.

27. For a fuller discussion reference may be made to a paper on the subject submitted by me to the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists published in the 'Indian Antiquary,' for May, 1932.

5. Other committees, two such are mentioned and many more are possible, as in fact, as many as ten are actually mentioned in inscriptions.

6. Method of appointing accountants.

This shows clearly what was aimed at and how it was achieved successfully in the second of these two inscriptions, the first falling short obviously in certain particulars which may be regarded perhaps as minor particulars. But for that detail, they seem to have aimed at almost the same object.

The actual duties that these committees performed are nowhere laid down precisely in each case, nor the actual total number of committees that could be, or that need be, appointed. But we can get an idea, from the large number of inscriptions from Uttaramallūr itself published recently, and a fairly large number of other inscriptions since collected and published. An idea of these could be got from Lecture V of my Sir William Meyer Lectures[28] to the Madras University. As was stated, already, we have reference to as many as ten committees, and the committee administration seems to have been carried on generally satisfactorily, the intervention of the headquarters, or of the royal provincial officers, being called for only occasionally. Though these rules do not lay down qualifications, or even general eligibility of women, we have at least one known instance of a woman being a member of a judicial committee.[29] In the actual method of election, the ordinary procedure is clearly indicated to be first the choice of the eligibles deliberately made and put down in writing, the actual persons for the year being drawn by lot. Even in this drawing by lot, a distinction is made. Where special qualifications are required in respect of the duties of a particular committee, the election is not made by the simple drawing of the lot from among the eligibles; but it was only those possessed of the requisite special qualifications, such as the capacity to assay for the gold committee, had to be chosen. In a case like that of the Samvatsaravāriyam, those that had already served on a smaller committee would be eligible. These could not be obtained by the simple drawing of the lot. Therefore for appointments to these committees, the course laid down is that of public announcement in the assembly. This is indicated by the term *karai-kāṭṭi,* which

28. Page 129 ff.

29. Ep. Rep. 1910. Sec. 35. p. 98.

āṭṭ-oru. The words *āṭṭ-oru* seem to be really *āṭṭai-mā* reading *āṭṭai-*

would mean by the process of public announcement or proclamation. The term *karai-kāṭṭi* in Tamil means laying down authoritatively that which is the correct course of action, as in the expression *aṟaṅ karai kāṭṭi* in the *Tolkāppiyam Pāyiram* (prologue). So therefore the name was to be read out in the assembly, and the assembly had to accept it by acclamation. This admits of the pointing out of the ineligibility of one chosen if one ineligible should be so drawn. This is provided for clearly in the second inscription in line 12. The actual process of election is not that of making a choice by lot, as the late Mr. Venkayya's last sentence of the instructions would seem to imply. The process is one of drawing up a list of eligibles, and then of choosing the actual persons by lot, modified to the extent of public announcement in regard to the special committees.

A—TEXT [30]

1. Svasti śrī (//*) (Madi)r(ai) kon(ḍa kō Ppa) rakēsarivammarkku yāṇḍu paniraḍu āvadu (//*) Uttiramēru ccatuppē (d) immangalattu[31] sabh(ai) yō (m) ivv-āṇḍu mudal e (n)gaḷ ūr [32]śrīmukappaḍi āñai.

2. yi(n)āl Tattanū (r-M) ūvē (nda) vēḷān irundu v[33] (ā)-riyam (ā)ka āṭṭ *aimā*kkalum samma[34] (va) tsara v(ā)riyamum dōṭṭa-vāriyamum (ēri)[35] vā(riya)mum iḍuvadarkku vyavas(thai) śey.

3. da pariśāvadu (1*) kuḍumbu mup (pad-āy) ammuppadu kuḍumbilum avvavakuḍu (m*)[36] bilā(rē)y kūḍi kā ni (la) ttukku mēl iṟai-nilam uḍaiyān[37] tan manaiyilē a.

30. From two impressions prepared in 1898.

31. Read *ocaturvēdi mangalattu*. V. I take *Chatuppēdi* as the actual reading.

32. The *akṣaras śrīmuka* are Grantha.

33. In the *akṣaras vā* and *mā* of this word, the length appears to have been subsequently inserted by the engraver; also the length *ā* of *āṭṭo* in *mākkaḷum*.. This reading may be held to duplicate Samvatsaravāriyam. *āṭṭai-mākkal*, however, could be held to mean those who have to be elected annually, including the committee for the year named.

34. Read *samvatsara*.

35. The remainder of the line is engraved over an erasure.

36. *avvava*, the last *va* seems to stand for *v* though the consonantal point is not marked, as is generally the case.

37. The *ai* of *ḍai* is unusual as it is made like the ai added to n, l and ḷ; also that of ḍai in line 5.

4. *k*am eḍuttukonḍu irup (pānaiy) ar (u) pa (du pi) rā (ya*) ttukku[38] uḷ muppadu pirāyattukku mēlpāṭṭār[39] vēdattilum śāstrattilum kā (r) yyattilum nipuṇar ennappaṭṭ-i-

5. ruppārai a(r*) ttha-śauśamum āt (ma) ś (au)śamum uḍaiyār āy mūv (ā) ṭṭin i-pparam[40] vāriyañjey (di) l (ā)tt(ā) r (v) āriyan jeyd oḷinda (p)erumakk[41] uḷukku[42]

6. aṇiya[43] bandukkaḷ[44] allāttār[45] (ai) kkuḍav[46] ōlaikku ppēr tiṭṭi *śadēri*-vaḷiyēy tiraṭ (ṭi) pa (n) niranḍu śēriyilum śēriyāl oru-pē(r-*um*-*āy*) e*ḷu*dum-uru[48] (vu-a) riyāttān-oru.[49]

7. bāla(nai)kkonḍu kuḍav-ōlai(v)ānguvi(t) tu ppanniru-vārum sam[50] (vatsa) ra-vāriyam āvid ā*k*avum (1*) (1*) a (di) ṅ minbēy tōṭṭa-vāriyattukku mērpaḍi ku(ḍa)v(e).[51]

8. lai[52] vāngi ppanniruvārum tōṭṭa-vāriyam (ā)vad ā (*k*a) vum (1*) niṅra (ā) ru (kuḍa) v-ōlaiy (u) mēri-vāriya (m ā*).

9. vad ā*k*avum ap (*pō*) du[53] kuḍav (e) lai[54] pa (ri) ccu v (ā) riyaṁn[55] śeygin(ra*) mūṅru (t)irattu v(ā) riyamum munnūr-

38. The *pi* is corrected from *tu*.

39. Read *mēlpaṭṭar*.

40. Read *i-ppuram*.

41. The *kku* is written as a group.

42. Read °*makkaḷukku*.

43. The syllable *ni* is corrected from *na*.

44. Read bandhu°; the writer seems to have inserted the *anusvara* between *ba* and *ndu*.

45. The initial *a* of this word is peculiar and resembles the Tamil *akṣara śu*.

46. The *kku* is written as a group.

47. Read *tīṭṭi chchēri*°.. This seems the actual reading.

48. There seems to be a clear *ḷu* making the word *eḷudum* which gives better sense. The words supplied seem to have indications to justify *um* and *āy* instead of *am* and *āru*.

49. The letter *n* of *no* looks like *ñ*.

50. The *akṣaras rum* sa are engraved over an erasure; read Samvatsara V. In the absence of puḷḷi in many cases, the need for reading *sama* instead of *sam* is not clear.

51. The *e* of *vo* looks like *ai;* read *kuḍav-ōlai*.

52. This line is a short one, beginning in the original just below *ṁ* in *samavatsara* of the previous line.

53. Mr. Venkayya read °*vad-āgavu muppadu;* but the less distinct *pā* seems clearly to be *po*.

54. There is some unaccountable space between the *akṣaras da* and *ve*, which may be occupied by the indistinct *v*, though it is grammatically wrong; read *kuḍavōḷai*.

55. Cancel the palatal *n*.

a (rubadu)[56] n (āḷu) m (ni) ram (ba*) (v) āriyam oḷin (*du*)[57] anan (ta) ra (m) idu (m vā) r (i) yangaḷ (i-vya) vasthai (y-ō) (*lai**) [58] ppaḍiyēy kuḍumbukku kkuḍav-ōlai[59] iṭṭu kkuḍav-olai[60] pa (ric) cu*k* (ko) nḍ (ē) y vā (ri) yam (i) ḍuvad ā*k*avum (1*) vāriyan jeydār (k*) ku bandhukkaḷum ś (ē) rigaḷilan*dasthalammadyastarkaḷu* [61]

10. m kuḍav-ōlaiyi (l) pēr eḷudi I (ḍa) ppaḍādār (ā) *k*avum (1*) panjavāra-vāri (ya) ttukkum pon-vāriyattukkum[62] muppadu kuḍu (m) b (i) lum mup (padu) kuḍa (v-ō) lai iṭṭu śēriyāl O (ru) ttarai kkuḍav-ōlai pari (t) tu panniruvārilum (a) ruvār (pa) nja (vāra*) vāriyam āvid [63] ā*k*avum (1*) aruvar p (on) variyam āvidā*k*av (m) [64] (1*) sam[65] vatsaravāri (ya*) m allātatana[66]

11. vāriya (n) gaḷ (o) rukkāl śēydā (rai pi) nnai a- (v) vāriyattukku kuḍav-ō (lai) iḍa-*pērttitākavum*[67] (1*) (i) ppari-śēyivv-ānḍu mudal ca (ntr) ā (ditta) vat e (ṅ) ṛum (ku) ḍav-ōlai (vāri) yamēy iḍuvadā*k*a[68] Dēvēntran ca (kra) vatti[69] (Śrī) [70] Vīranārāyaṇan Śrī-Parāntaka dēvar-āki (ya) Parakēsariva (*m*) mar śrīmu*k*am a (ru) luccēydu[71] va (rakk) āṭṭa.

12. Śrī añaiyināl Tattanūr-Mū- (vē) nda- (vē) ḷān-uḍan-irukka nam grāmatt (u du) ṣṭar[72] koṭṭuśiṣṭar varddhi (tti) ḍuvar-

56. Read munnūṛṛ-arubadu; the syllables *badu* are written over an erasure.

57. Read *oḷinda*. So Mr. Venkayya; but the indistinct letter is *du*.

58. There are no indications of letters o and *lai*.

59. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

60. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

61. Perhaps °*me avaru* is the intended reading according to V. The indistinct part seems to give the reading above which is quite in place.

62. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

63. Read *āvad-āgavum*.

64. Read *āvad-āgavum*.

65. Read *samvat*°.

66. A cross is here entered in the original to show that the writing which at first sight appears to be in continuation of this line has to be read after line 11. The last word seems clearly to be *allattava* for *alladadana*. The letter d is t.

67. This reads clearly *pēr-ttitākavum*, which means that the tickets bearing these names have to be removed.

68. Read *iḍuvad-āka*.

69. The syllable *tti* is written as a group.

70. The symbol transcribed here by *śrī* is damaged and the existing traces look like *pri* or *vri* which gives no sense.

71. Read *aruḷicceydu*.

72. Read *keṭṭu*.

āka (vyava) sthai śey (dō) m (Ut) taramē (ru*) cca[73] (turvv) ēdi-mangalat(tu) sabh(ai) yōm (ll*).

Hail, prosperity. In the year 12 of Parakēsari Varma, capturer (conqueror) of Madura (vulgo, Madirai), the procedure for appointing every year, as from this year onwards, the committee for the management of the year (*Samvatsaravāriyam*), the committee for gardens, the committee for the tank as laid down by us, the assembly of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, for their town in accordance with the royal order, Tattanūr Mūvēndavēḷān, having been present and acted as the president of the assembly (*vāriyamāha*), is as follows:—

There being thirty wards (in the town), the residents of each of these wards should assemble together, and set down on tickets for the pot (kuḍavōlai) the names of residents with the following qualifications:—

1. Those possessed of more than a quarter *vēli* of tax paying lands;
2. Every one, residing in a house of his own, built upon his own land;
3. Those that are under the age of 60 and over that of 30;
4. Those well-known for expertness in the sciences (*Śāstra*), and in the management of affairs (*kāryam*);
5. Those with wealth earned by honest means, and of pure souls;
6. Those who had not been on these committees during the preceding three years;
7. Those not near relations to the great ones who had held and relinquished office.

The names of these should be entered in the tickets for the pot (*Kuḍavōlai*). The tickets should be collected, ward by ward.[74] Tickets shall be taken out, one for each hamlet (*śēri*), by a boy who does not understand letter-formation,[75] by letting him take one ticket from the pot for each hamlet, the 12 so taken constituting "the committee for the year" (*Samvatsara-vāriyam*). After that (adin minbēy) tickets shall be taken from the pot in the

73. Read *caturvēdi.*°

74. Mr. Venkayya's reading is *Śādēri.* It seems to me to be *Śēri,* the doubled *Śē* being broken and looking like *Śadē.* The correct reading on this basis will be *ch-chēri.*

75. The actual reading is *eḷudum-uru-ariyāttān* one that does not know the form in which writing is made, that is, one ignorant of writing.

same manner for the committee on gardens. These twelve should constitute the committee for gardens. The six remaining tickets out of the thirty should constitute the tank committee. The three committees constituted thus, by drawing tickets from the pot, should hold office for full 360 days. The committees to be constituted thereafter shall be appointed in the same manner as these, by collecting tickets for the pot ward by ward and by drawing tickets from the pot as before. The names of people related to those who had been members of these committees, and of those that are arbitrators[76] for each hamlet should not be entered on tickets for the pot, and not drawn for any of these committees. For the Panchavāram (Panchavāravāriyam committee)[77] and the gold committee 30 tickets shall be written for the 30 wards and tickets drawn as before, one for each hamlet (*śēri*). Of these six shall constitute the Panchavāram committee, the remaining six the gold committee. The names of those who have been members of committees, other than the committee for the year, should not be named for the same[78] committee again. From this year, and, for as long as the moon and the sun last, for all time, committees should be appointed by pot tickets. This was the royal order vouchsafed by the lord of gods and shown to us, by the emperor the prosperous Vīra Nārāyana, the prosperous Parāntaka Dēva, who is Parakēsarivarman. In accordance with this auspicious order Tattanūr Mūvēndavēḷān being present, We, the assembly of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, made this settlement in order that the wicked in our town might suffer destruction and the virtuous flourish.

B-TEXT.[79]

1. Svasti śrī (***) Maduraikoṇḍa kō Parakēsaivanma (r*) kku yāṇḍu padinālāvadu nāḷ padin-āru (ll*) Kāliyūr-kōṭṭattu tankuṟṟu[80] Uttaramēru-ccatu *pp*ēdimangalattu[81] sabhaiyōm ivvāṇḍu mudal (e) ngaḷukku Peru (m) ān-aḍigaḷ Emberumān-śrī

76. The phrase made out indistinctly, reads *Śērigaḷilē-andasthaḷamadhyastarkaḷum*, meaning the arbitrators of the township resident in the *Śēris* or hamlets.

77. *Panchavāra-vāriyam* means a committee of representatives of "five bodies," into which society is divided. Some such committee of a general character is what is meant.

78. Literally tickets bearing their names shall be removed.

79. From two inscriptions in 1898.

80. Read *kūṟṟu*.

81. The reading is *Catuppedimangalattu*. The *r* supplied is in that case unnecessary.

Vīranārāyaṇan-śrī[82] Pārāntakadēvan (śrī) Parakēsarivanmaṟuḍaiya śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi ā

2. jñjñaiyināl[83] Śōḷa-nāṭṭu-Ppurangarambaināṭṭu Śrīvanganagar-Kharanjai-Koṇḍayakramavitta-bhaṭṭan-ākiya Śōmāśiperumān irundu vāriyam-āka a ṭ (ṭ o)[84] rukk (ā) lum samavatsara[85] vāriyamu (m*) tōṭṭa vāriyamum ēri-vāriyamum iḍuvadarkku vyavasthai śēda pariśā(va) du (l*) kuḍumbu muppadā-muppadu kuḍumbilum avvav kuḍummilā[86]

3. rē kūḍi kkā nilattukku mēl iṟainilam uḍaiyān tan manaiyilē akamm eḍuttu-kkonḍ iruppānai eḷubadu pirāyattin kīḻ muppttaindu pirāyattin mērpaṭṭār mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōḍu-viytt ariyvānai kkuḍav-ōlai iḍuvid ākavum (l*) arai-kkānilamē uḍaiyān āyilu (m*) oru vēdam vallān āy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru-bhā

4. ṣyam vakkāṇitt ariyvān avanaiyuṅ kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi ppuka iḍuvad ākavum (1*) avarkaḷilum kā (r*) yyattil nipuṇar āy āśāram uḍaiyārānaraiyēy koḷuvid ākavun (1*) a (r*) tthaśauśamu (m*) ānma-śauśamum uḍaiyār āy mūv-āṭṭin i-ppuram vāriya (ñ) jeydilāttārai koḷvad ākavum (l*) eppērppaṭṭa vāriyankaḷum sē (y) du kaṇakku kkāṭṭadē irundāraiyum ivarkaḷukku cciṟṟ-avai-ppēr-avai ma

5. kkaḷaiyum ivarkaḷukku attai māmān makkaḷaiyūm[87] iva (r*) kaḷukku ttāyōḍu uḍappirandāḷaiyum[88] ivarkaḷ tama (p) panōḍ-uḍappirandānaiyum tannōḍ uḍappirandānaiyum ivarkaḷukku piḷḷai kuḍutta māmanaiyum ivarkaḷ brahmaṇiyōḍ[89] uḍappirandānaiyu[90] tannōḍ-uḍappirandāḷai vēṭṭānaiyu (m*) uḍappiran(dā) ḷ makkaḷaiyum tan makaḷai vēṭṭa maruganaiyum tan tamappanaiyum

6. tan makanaiyum āka i ccuṭṭa******1[91] bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi-ppu (ka) iḍa p (pa) ḍāttār ākavum (l*) agamyaga-manattilum mahāpādakangaḷ (i) l munb aḍain (ta)[93]

82. Read *Parāntaka°*.

83. *jñ* is doubled in the original.

84. The syllable *tō* is corrected from *mē*.

85. Read *Samvatsara.*. In the general abstention from the use of the *puḷḷi*, it may be read so directly.

86. Read *Kuḍumbi°*.

87. Read *makkaḷaiyum.*

88. Read *°pirandānaiyum.*

89. The syllable *ni* is corrected from *na.*

90. The syllable nai appears to be corrected from lai; read *°pirandānaiyum.*

91. The missing portion is probably *ppaṭṭa ittiṇai*, as in the later portion of this line.

92. This seems to read clearly *paḍāttār*, and not perāttar.

93. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *aḍainda.*

nāḷu mahā pātakattilumm eḷuttuppaṭṭāraiyum iva (kaḷu) kkum mun śuṭṭapaṭṭa ittiṇai bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷud (i) ppuka (i) ḍa pperādā (r ā) kavum (1*) sa (ṁsar) gga (a)* (ta) rai[94] prāyaścittañ jēyyum-aḷa (vu) ṁ

7. kuḍav-ōlai iḍādad-ākavum**** diyum sāhasiyar āy iruppāraiyum kuḍa (v-ō) lai eḷudi ppukav iḍa pperādār ākavum (1*) paradhiravyam[95] apaharittānaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi ppukav iḍa pperādār ākavum (1*) e (ppē) rppaṭṭa kaiyyūṭṭu (n) konḍān kṛ (ta) prāyaścittañ[96] śaiydu śuddhar ānānaiyu (m)[97] avvavar prāṇān (t) ikam

8. vāriyattukku kkuḍav-ōlaiy[98] eḷudi puka (v iḍa pperādad ākavum)*** pādagamñ[99] śeydu[100] prāyaccit (ta) ñ jeydu śuddhar (ā) nāraiyum grāma-kanḍakar āy[101] prāyaśi (ttañ) śēdu[102] śu (d) dhar ānāraiyu (m*) agamyagamanam[103] (śē) du prāya (ści) ttamñ[104] śeydu[105] suddhar ānāriyum ākaz-iccuṭṭapaṭṭa an (ai) yvaraiyum prāṇā (nti) kam vār (i) yattukku kkuḍav-ōlai eḷud (i) ppukaviḍa pperādad āka

9. vum (1*) āka i-ccuṭṭapaṭṭa ittanaiyvaraiyum[106] nīkki i-mmuppadu kuḍum (bilu) m kuḍav-ōlaikku ppēr tīṭṭi i-ppanniranḍu śēriyilum āka i-kkuḍumbum vevvērēy vāy-ōlai pūṭṭi muppadu[107] kuḍumbum vev vērē kaṭṭi kkuḍam puka (iḍu) vad ākavum (1*) kuḍavōlai parikkum (bō) du mahāsabhai[108] ttiruvaḍiyārai sabālavirurddham[109] niram (ba) kkūtti konḍu aṅṛ uḷḷūril irunta[110] nambimār oruvaraiyum oḷiyā

94. Read °*patitarai.*
95. Read °*dravyam*.. The actual reading is *dhira*, not *drā.*
96. The syllable *ncai* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
97. Read either *śuddhan ānānaiyum* or *suddhar-ānāraiyum.*
98. A second superfluous *lai* is engraved below the line beneath the *lai* of *ōlai.*
99. Cancel the palatal *n.*
100. The *a* of *pra* is entered below the line.
101. Read *prāyaścittañ.*
102. The syllable *ñchē* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
103. The letter *śe* is Grantha in the original.
104. Cancel *m.*
105. The syllable *ñchē* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
106. Above the two letters *tta* is an erased *lai*; see note 103 above.
107. The akṣara *du* is corrected from *m.*
108. This seems the actual reading, not *māhāsabhai.*
109. Read °*vrddham.*
110. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *irunda.*

10. me[111] māhāsabhaiyilē *uḷḷār*[112] *ē,orai* maṇḍa*k*attilēy iruttikkoṇḍu a-nnambimār naḍuvēy a-kkuḍattai nam (b) imā (*k*i)[113] viddhar[114] āy iruppārr[115] oru- (na) mbi mēl nōkki (e)[116] llā-jjanamun *k*āṇum-āṟṟāll[117] eḍuttukkoṇḍu nirkka[118] pagalēy [119]antaram ariyādānn[120] orupālanaikkoṇḍu oru-kuḍumbu vān (giy) maṟṟ oru-kuḍattukkēy pu*k*av iṭṭu kkulaittu a-kkuḍatill[121] ōr-ōlai vāngi maddhyasthan kaiyilē

11. (ku) ḍuppad ā*k*avum (1*) a-kkuḍu (t*) tav (ō) lai madhyasthan vāngumbōdu anju viralum a*k*ala vaittu uḷḷan*k*aiyilē ēṟṟu-kkoḷv (ā) n[122] ā*k*avum (1*) avv-ēṟṟu vā (n) ginav ōlai v (ā) śippān ā*k*avum (1*) [123] vāśitta avv-ōlai ank-uḷ[124] (ma) uṇḍagatt irunta[125] nambimār ellārum vāśippār-ā*k*avum (1*) vāśitta[126] a-ppēr tīṭṭuvad-ā*k*avum (1*) i-ppariśēm*m*uppadu[127] kuḍumbilu (m) orō-pēr k (o) ḷvad ā*k*avum (1*) i-kkoṇḍa (mu) ppadu pērilumm[128] tōṭṭa-vāriyamu (m) ēri-vāriyamum śēydāraiyum (vi) jyā-vṛdha (rai) yum[129]

12. vayō[130] (vi) ddhar*k*aḷaiyum [131]samavatsara-vāriyaraiyum koḷvad-ā*k*avum (1*) mikku niṅṟāru (p)[132] panniruvarai-ttōṭṭa-vāriyan *k*oḷvi (d ā) *k*avum (1*) niṅṟa aruvaraiumm[133] ēri-vāriyam-ā*k*a-kkoḷ-vad-ā*k*avum (1*) ivviraṇḍu (t) irattu vāriyamu

111. Read *Mahāsabhai.*°

112. The letter *m* seems to be a correction from *var.* V. The actual reading is *uḷḷārē* or *uḷḷārai.* The *m* is made up of *ā* ḷā and *re* or *rai,* the *a* being run into it.

113. Read *nambimāril. Ki* is erroneous writing.

114. Read *Vṛddhar-āy.*

115. Cancel the first *r.*

116. Cancel the first *j.*

117. Cancel the first *l.*

118. Cancel the first *k.*

119. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.

120. Cancel the first *n.*

121. Cancel the first *l.*

122. The *ā* is not in the original, nor is it quite necessary.

123. The syllable *śi* is Grantha in the original.

124. The letter *ma* appears to be corrected from *ka.*

125. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *irunda.*

126. The syllable *si* is Grantha in the original.

127. The letter *ś* of *śē* is Grantha in the original.

128. Cancel the letter *m; nto* is a group in the original.

129. The word *vṛddharaiyum* is perhaps an interpolation made subsequently by the engraver himself.

130. Read *vṛddha.*°

131. No need to read *sama* as no mark is used generally for *puḷḷi.*

132. The engraver seems to have first written the letter *l* and then corrected it into *ṭ;* read *niṅṟaruṭ-panniruvarai.*

(m) karai kāṭṭi [134]koḷvad (ā) *k*avu (m) (1*) i-vāriyam śēy*k*i (ṅ) ṟa mūṅṟu (t) irattu vāriyapperumakkaḷum munnū (ṟṟ-a) ru (ba) dunāḷum nira (m) ba cceydu oḷivad (ā) *k*avum (1*) vāriyañ jeyya*k*iṅṟārai[135] aparādan

13. *k*aṇḍapōdu avanaiy oḷ (i) ttuvad-ā*k*avum (1*) iva*k*aḷ oḷi (nta)[136] anantaramm[137] iḍum vāriyan*k*aḷum pa (nniran) ḍu śēriyilum dhanma (kṛ) rttyan[138] *k*aḍaikkāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharai kkoṇḍu kur (i) kūṭṭ (i) kkuḍppār ā*k*a (vu) m (1*) i-vyavasthaiy-ōlaippaḍiyēy*** (k) ku kkuḍavōlaiy parittu-k (k) o (ṇḍē vāri) yam iḍuvad ā*k*a vum (1*) pancavāra-v (āriyat) t (tuk) kum pon-vā (ri) yattu

14. kku muppadu[139] kkuḍumbilum[140] kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tīṭṭi muppadu vā (y-ō) lai kaṭṭum pu*k*a (iṭ) ṭu mup (pa) du kuḍav-ōl (ai) parittu muppadilum[141] (panni) raṇḍu[142] pēr (pa) rittu-kkoḷvad (ā) *k*avum (1*) paritta panniraṇḍilum a (ru) var p (o) n-vāriyam aruvār panjavāra-vāriyamum āvanav-a[142(a)] (*k*avum) (**) piṟṟai āṇḍum i-vāriya (n) *k*aḷ kuḍav-ōlai parikkumbōdu i-vvāriyan*k*aḷukku munnam śē

15. yda kuḍumb aṅṛikkē[143] niṅṛa kuḍumbilē karai parittu kk (o) ḷ (va) d-ā*k*avum (1*) kaḷudai ērināraiyum kūḍalē*k*ai śeydānaiyum kuḍav-ōlai (ē) ḷudi-ppu*k*a iḍa-pperādad ā*k*avu (m*) madhyastharum arttha-śauśamm[144] uḍaiyānē kaṇakk ēḷuduvān ākavum kaṇak (k) eḷudinān kaṇakku-pperunguri-pperu-makka-ḷōdu kūḍa-kkaṇa (k) ku (k) kāṭṭi śuddhan āccidin-pinn-aṅṛi maṟṟu-kkaṇa

16. kku-ppu*k*a perādān-ā*k*avum (1*) tān eḷudina ka (ṇakku) ttānē kāṭṭuvān-ā*k*avum (1*) maṟṟu-kkaṇak (ka) r pukku o (ḍu) kkapperādā (r) ā*k*avum (1*) i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal cantrādittavar[145] eṅ (ṛ) um kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad-ā*k*a Dēv (ē) n-

133. Cancel the second *m*.
134. The akṣara *va* of *koḷva* is entered below the line.
135. Read *jeyyāniṅṛārai*.
136. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.
137. The nta of *ananta*° is a group in the original; cancel the first *m*.
138. Read °*kṛtyan*. The second *r* is hardly presumable.
139. The second *pa* is corrected from *ta*.
140. *Kuḍumbi*° is corrected from °*kumili*.
141. The letters *dilu* are engraved over an erasure.
142. The letter *ni* is engraved over an erasure.
142-(a). āvanavar or āvār is the correct form.
143. The first *k* of *aṅṛikkē* is entered below the line. V. It is doubtful that there are two *k*s in the original.
144. Cancel the first *m*.
145. Read *candradityavat*.

tran[146] cakrava (r*) tti (pa) nḍitavatssalan[147] kunjaramallan śūraśūḷāmaṇi kalpakaśaridai[148] śrī-Parakē (sa) ri *p* (pa) nma (r kaḷ)[149] śrīmu (kha) m-aruḷuccēdu[150] varak (k) āṭṭa śri-ā (ñ) aiā

17. l Śoḷa-nāṭṭu-Ppurangarambaināṭṭu Śrīvanganagar-Kkaranjai K(o)nḍaya (Kra)[151] mavitta-bhaṭṭann[152] ākaiya Śomāśiperumān uḍan (i)[153] rundu i-ppariśu śeyvikka nā(m) grāmattukku a (bhyu) tayam[154] āka duṣṭar keṭṭu viśiṣṭar va (r) ddhippad-āka vyavasth(ai) śeydōm Uttaramēru-ccaturvvēdimangalattu sabhaiyōm (1*) i-ppariśukuriyuḷ irundu p(e)rumakkaḷ paṇikka vyavasthai eḷudinē (n) madhyasthan

18. Kāḍaḍippot (ta) n Śivakkuri Irājamallamaṁkalapriyanēn[155] ll

(B)

Hail Prosperity. In the year 14 of king Parakēsarivarman the capturer of Madura, on the 16th day, We, the assembly of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, a division by itself, belonging to the larger division (*Kōṭṭam*) of Kāliyūr, made the following settlement for appointing the committee for the year, committee for gardens, and the committee for the tank as follows, in accordance with the royal order, and the royal commands conveyed therein, as shown to us from the Great One (*Perumān Aḍigaḷ*), or Lord, the prosperous Vīranārāyaṇa, the prosperous Parāntakadēva, the prosperous Śrī Parakēsarivarman; Somāśiperumān[156] who was Karanjai Konḍayya Kṛamavitta Bhaṭṭan of Śrīvanganagar in the division (*Nāḍu*) of Puramkarambai in the Chola country, being president[157] over the assembly. The number of wards in the town being[158] thirty, the residents of each ward should assemble to-

146. Read Dēvēndran.

147. Cancel the second *s*.

148. In the original *kalpakaśari*° is Grantha; read *caritai*.

149. The corresponding passage in line 1 has *vanmaruḍaiya*. There is a small *l* by the side of *k*.

150. Read *aruḷi*.°

151. The akṣara *kra* of *kṛamavitta* appears to be written over an erasure.

152. Cancel the first *n*.

153. The letter *i* is corrected from Grantha *ma*.

154. In the original, the letters *abhyu* are Grantha; read *abhyudaya*.°

155. An *akṣara* is erased before *ja* in the original.

156. Literally "the great one is *Somayāji*," one that performed *Soma* Sacrifice, *Somāśi* being Tamil *tadbhava* for *Somayāji*.

157. This is made clear by the term "*vāriyamāka*" here and the causative "*śeyvikka*" caused to do in line 17.

158. *Muppadā*, *Muppadāka* being thirty.

gether in their ward and set down on tickets the names of those with the following qualifications:—

1. Those possessed of a quarter vēli of tax paying land;
2. One resident in a house built on his own site;
3. One below the age of 70 and above 35;
4. One who knows the Mantra-Brahmana and is able to teach it;
5. Even one possessed of only 1/8th of land, if he should know one Veda and one of the four Bhāshyas, and is capable of expounding (*vakkāṇittal*) these to others;

A. Among these, those known to be expert in affairs and following in their conduct the sacred laws alone should be entered.

B. Those with wealth cleanly acquired, and those whose minds are pure, and who did not hold office during the three years previous, alone should be entered.

C. Those who, having held any of the above-mentioned offices, failed to render account of their own charge should not have their names entered for the pot ticket, and those related to them as follows:

a. Children of their mother's sisters, elder and younger;
b. Paternal aunts and maternal uncles;
c. Sisters of their mother and brothers of their father;
d. Own brothers;
e. Those that gave their daughters in marriage to these;
f. The brothers of their wives;
g. Those that had married their sisters;
h. Children of their sisters;
i. Sons-in-law that had married their daughters;
j. Fathers of these sons-in-law;
k. Their sons;

These shall not have their names entered for the pot ticket.

6. Those reputed to be guilty of incest,[159] and of the first four of the five great sins;[160]
7. Those related to them in the same degree of relationship as detailed above should also be excluded;

159. "*Agamyagamanam*" literally access where access is prohibited.

160. The five sins are in order: (1) killing a Brahman; (2) drinking intoxicating liquors; (3) theft; (4) adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher; (5) association with any of these. Manu XI, 55; Also Tamil texts.

8. Those guilty of association with the above two classes should not be entered for the pot ticket till they should have cleared themselves by prescribed expiation ceremonies;
9. Those that are reckless should also be excluded;
10. Those that are guilty of appropriating other people's property should also be excluded;
11. Those guilty of receiving bribes on any account should be excluded during their life, even though they should have cleared themselves by performing ceremonies of expiation;
12. Similarly those who have cleared themselves by ceremonies of expiation after having been guilty of the heinous sins, or having been village pests, or having been guilty of incest, and those related to them to the same degree detailed above, should also be excluded to the end of their lives.

Excluding all those detailed above, names from among those eligible in the 30 wards, should be entered on pot tickets. Thus tickets for the 12 hamlets should be collected and sorted ward by ward, each with a docket (with the name of the ward and the number of tickets) and put into the pot. When tickets had to be drawn, all the members of the Mahāsabha, including the young and old, should be brought together in full assembly; all the temple priests in town on that day should also be brought to attend without exception. These should be made to sit in the inner pavilion, and the pot containing the tickets should be lifted by one of them, a man of age, in such manner that everybody in the assembly might see. A young lad, who does not know what is in the pot, even by day, should be asked to draw the bundle of one ward. This should be put into another pot and well mixed up by shaking. He (the lad) should then draw one ticket from this, and place it in the hands of the arbitrator (*Madhyasthan*). When the arbitrator receives the ticket, he should receive it on the open palm of his hand with the fingers spread out. He should then read the ticket that he thus received. All the members present in the pavilion shall similarly read the name on the ticket. The name thus read should then be entered. In this manner, one name should be entered for each of the thirty wards. From out of the thirty tickets thus selected, those who have served on the committee for gardens and the committee for tanks, those who are ripe in learning, those who are of mature age, should be chosen for the committee

for the year (*Samvatsaravāriyam*). Out of the remaining number, 12 should be chosen for the garden committee. The remaining six should be appointed for the management of the tank. The appointment to the two last committees shall be made by announcement of names (*Karai-kāṭṭi*).[161] The three groups of great ones appointed to these committees shall vacate office after having held it for full 360 days. When holders of offices are fined, they should be removed (then and there) from office. Even those to be appointed to the vacancies thus created, should be appointed by those in the 12 hamlets, who are responsible for the administration of justice,[162] by bringing together a meeting of the assembly[163] through arbitrators. Appointments to the managing committees should always be made in the manner prescribed in this document (*ōlai*), by drawing tickets. Similarly for the *Panchavāram* committee, and the gold committee, names shall be written for pot tickets in the 30 wards docketed in 30 divisions and drawn as described above for 30 names. Then 12 names should be drawn from out of the 30. Of these 12, 6 should be taken for the gold committee, and the other 6 for the *Panchavāram* committee. When, for the year following, members are to be chosen for these committees, those that had been already on these committees should be excluded by announcement (*Karaiparittu*).[164] Those that have suffered disgrace by riding on donkeys, those guilty of writing secret anonymous letters should be excluded. For the arbitrators, those of honest earnings alone should be appointed to write up accounts. Those that kept accounts should not be appointed again to the office unless these had rendered accounts to the members of the great assembly for the purpose to their satisfaction and declared clear of all liabilities. One that kept the accounts should render the accounts himself. Other accountants should not be brought up to complete the accounts. In this manner, committees of management should be appointed only by the pot ticket method

161. This term, *Karai-kāṭṭi* seems to imply formal authoritative announcement. Ordinarily it means declaring or laying down with authority, as in *aṟam-karai-nāvin* in the Tolkāppiyam.

162. This expression in the text "*dhanma-Kityam-gaḍai-kāṇum* vāriyar, the leaders who supervise the doing of justice. This ought to be regarded as the same as the *Dharmāsanattār* of other inscriptions, meaning the body whose function it was to administer justice.

163. The expression used is Kuri-Kūṭṭi calling a meeting. See S. I. I. III, 17. The term is used exactly as in line 17 of this record, a number of similar records using *Sabhai* instead of *Kuri*.

164. By public declaration.

from this year forward, and for as long as the moon and the sun should last. Thus it was ordered by the Lord of the gods, the emperor, lover of learning, wrestler with elephants, the head-jewel of heroes, one that is liberal as the wish-giving-tree, Śrī Parakēsari Varman. The royal letter vouchsafed, having been received and shown to us, in accordance with the royal order, Sōmāśi Peruman, who is Karanjai Koṇḍayya-Kramavitta Bhaṭṭan of Śrī Vanganagar in Puramkarambai Nāḍu in the Chola country, having been with us, and got us to do it in this manner, we of the township (*Grāmam*) made this settlement in order that our township (*Grāmam*) may flourish by the destruction of the wicked ones, and with the growing prosperity of the others.[165] The great ones being assembled in meeting[166] in this manner made the order of settlement, which, I, the arbitrator Kāḍaḍipottan, Śivakkuri, Rājamalla Mangala Priyanēn, set down in writing.

N.B.—In the above the italicised ḷ stands for Tamil ழ or ள

165. The term used here is "*Viśiṣṭar*," while A has the word "*Śiṣṭor*" in its place. The latter would mean "those of good discipline," and the former "all others or the better ones" literally.

166. The expression used is "*Kuriyuḷ-irundu*" meaning "being present in the assembly."

APPENDIX II.

29

A Chronological Bibliography of the writings of Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, of the University of Madras.

(Retired.)

COMPILED BY

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AND

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[The following chronological list of my writings was prepared by Mr. T. G. Aravamudan, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras. He sent it on to me for publication in the Journal of Indian History as a supplement, so that there may be a record somewhere of the whole of my writings, with a request that it may be revised either by myself or by someone else, to make it complete as far as may be, and correct. Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar of the Annamalai University undertook the revision, and the bibliography is published in the form submitted by the latter after revision. I looked through it and, as far as I could judge by memory, it is substantially correct. It omits, however, with perhaps one exception or two, whatever I may have written in daily papers and notes in journals etc., as a prominent instance of which I may mention the series of articles I wrote in the Hindu Weekly giving an account of my tour through parts of Northern India. The list contains 110 items not counting duplications. I am publishing it in the Journal of Indian History in the hope that it may prove to be a useful record for those that may be working in the subject.

Editor.]

1900 May.	Mysore under the Woḍeyers. (Thesis for the M.A. Degree) Madras Review. (1900.)
1901 April.	The Chola Ascendency in South India. (1901.)
1902. January.	The Chola Administration. (1902.)
1902. July.	The Third Tamil Śangam. (MCCM. 20; 26-30.)
1902. September.	Kamban and Jayaṁkoṇḍān. (MCCM. 20; 138-43.)
1903. December.	India and Imperial Protection. (IR. 3; 760-2.)
1904.	Rāmājuna, His Life and Times, Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly. (Republished in book form by Messrs. G. A. Natesan.)
1904 April.	The Age of Namāḷvār. (MCCM. 558-62.)
1904	The Age of the Last Seven Patrons of Tamil Literature. (Madras Review.)

1904 December.	The Making of Mysore. (S.I.A. Lecture.)
1905 November.	The Agnikula; The Fire-Race. (IA 34; 261.)
1906 May-September.	Historical Connection between South India & Ceylon. (S.T. 4; 346-54, 388-96, 476-83; 522-31.)
1906. June.	Self-Immolation which is not Sati. (IA 35; 129-31.)
1906. July.	Bṛhat Kathā. (JRAS 1906; 689-92.)
1906. August.	Tirumangai Āḻvār and His Date. (IA 35; 288-33.)
1907 November.	Lessons from Ancient India. (IR 8; 809-22.)
1908 May.	Yatirājavaibhavam of Āndhrapūrṇa. (IA 38; 129.)
1908 August.	Celebrities in Tamil Literature. (IA 38; 227-43.)
1909.	The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature. (T.A 5; 23-54.)
1909 August-December.	Ancient India in Tamil. (ST 6; 471-518 7; 42-92.)
1909 October.	History of South India. (QJMS 1; 3-9.)
1910.	The Chola Empire in South India. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910 January.	India at the Dawn of the Christian Era. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910 April.	Gold Mining in Ancient India (QJMS 1; 111-3.)
1910 October.	Fire-Walking Ceremony at the Dharmarāja Festival. (QJMS 2; 29-31.)
1911.	Ancient India, containing a selection of the more important of the above.
1911 April.	The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean. (QJMS 2; 71-82.)
	A note on the Diamonds in South India. (QJMS 3; 129-40.)
1914 January-February.	The Mahāvaṁśa and South Indian History. (IR. 15; 15-20; 114-9. QJMS 4; 127-40.)
1914 October-December.	The Chank in Ancient India. (QJMS 4; 160-2.)
1914 June-December.	Landmarks in South Indian History. (JSIA 5-85-99.)
1915 February-March.	The Āḻvārs, and their Times. (QJMS 4; 169-72.)
1915 April.	The Dynasties of the Kali Age. (IR. 15-297-9.)
1915 October.	Social Legislation under Hindu Governments. (Reprinted as a book. IR 6; 47-7 and QJMS.)
1915.	A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History. (Reprinted as a book.) (QJMS 6-61-109.)
1915 September.	Research in South Indian History. Educational Review. (Presidency College Union Society, Inaugural.)
1916.	The Age of the Śangam Literature, (Pachaiyappa's Historical and Tamil Societies. Inaugural (Pamphlet.)

1916	Agniskandha and The Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka. (JRAS 1915; 521-7. IA 44-203).
1917.	The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire; Krishnadēvarāya. Lecture to the Maharaja's College Union Society, Mysore. (Hindustan Review. 1917.)
1917 May-April.	The Antiquities of Mahābalipur. (IA 46; 49-57, 65-73.) (Revised and reprinted in Notes on the Seven Pagodas by Sir R.C. Temple and others; Issued as a separate reprint. IA 1929.)
1917.	G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture. (English Edn.) Virūpāksha II of Vijayanagar Com-Ess. Presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume. (255-64).
1918.	The Beginnings of South Indian History.
1919.	Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Edited). Asoka's Satyaputras and Satyavratakshētra. (JRAS 1919; 581-4.) A mediaeval Kēraḷa Ruler, Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara. (Ernakulam College Magazine July 1919.)
1919 May.	The Hun-Problem in Indian History, (IA 48; 65-76. Christian College Union Society Inaugural.)
1920.	The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kānchī. (JIH 2-20-66.)
1920.	Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (Readership Lectures, Calcutta University.)
1920 October.	The Foundation of Vijayanagar. Part of a Course of Lectures to the Mysore University. (QJMS 11-13-32.)
1921.	South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Lectures to Madras and Mysore Universities. (Oxford University Press.)
1921 October.	Greater India; Expansion of India Bey[illegible], p. Seas. (QJMS 12-10-44.)
1921-22.	(1) A Scholar King of Tanjore, R[illegible]. X, part Nāyaka. (2) Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. [illegible] Śabdha (3) Educational Foundations in [illegible]. 140.) India. (Everyman's Review.) Ministers, Hindu India from Original Sources[illegible] 43.) and 2.) [illegible]ive Institu- A Short History of Hindu India. Meyer Lec-
1922. January.	The Age of Perundēvanār. (ABI [illegible]
1922 April.	Tirumangai Āḻvār and Dantidurg[illegible]rst Historical 261-7.)

1922.	The Sātvatas, an important Folk-Movement. (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference, Calcutta.)
	Glimpses of Mauryan Invasions in Classical Tamil Literature. (I.O.C., Calcutta 1922 and ST 319; 33.)
	The Early History of Vaishṇavism in South India. (Paper presented to First Indian Oriental Conference, 1919, published as a book, Oxford University Press.)
1923 April-July.	Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. (QJMS 13-621-7, 742-54.)
	Tirumangai Āḷvār and Dantidurga. (QJMS 13-695-8).
1923. September.	Rājēndra, the Gangaikoṇḍa Chola, 1925 (Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume III, 2-541-88). (JIH 2; 317-69.)
1923 October.	The Kōśar of Tamil Literature and the Satyaputra of the Asoka Edicts. (JRAS 609; 13.)
1923 December.	Samudragupta. (Mysore University Magazine.)
1923 December.	Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. (Publication by the Calcutta University).
1923 December.	Introduction to R. Satyanathan's History of the Nāyaks of Madura. (Madras University Historical Series.)
1923 December.	Forward to Mr. A. Madhavayya's English version of Maṇimēkhalai.
1924.	Madurai-Talavaralāṛu (An Account of the Temple of Madura.) (IHRCP 6-104-16.)
	The Vākāṭakas and their Place in the History of India. (ABI 5; 31-54.)
1925. February.	The Konkaṇ and the Konkaṇi Language. (IA 54; 37-8.)
	Penugoṇḍa. (Written specially for presentation to H. E. Lord Willingdon on the occasion of his visit to the place).
1915 April-May.	Introduction to Gopala Aiyar's Edn. of Perundēvanar's Bhārata-Veṇbā.
1915 Oct	The Bakhair of Rāmarāja. (IHR C.P. 7-54-63.)
uary.	The Vākāṭakas in Gupta History. (QJMS. 15-153.)
1915. ıber.	Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India. (JIH 5; 313-30.)
	Introduction to Rasanāyagam's Ancient Jaffna.
1915 September.	Vyāgra, the Feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivisēna. (IA 55; 223-7).
1916.	Vikramāditya (Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 143-163, Patna University.)
	The Buddhism of Maṇimēkhalai. (Contribution to Dr. B.C. Law's Buddhistic Studies).

1927 April.	The Gūrjara Empire in North India. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
	A Tamil Treatise on Buddhist Logic. Bk. xxix of Manimēkalai. Vasanta Silver Jubilee Volume in honour of Principal A. B. Dhruva.
1927 August.	Studies in Gupta History. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
1927 November.	Mailārpu (Mylapore). (IA 56; 197-8.)
	Panchamahāśabda. (J.Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928.	A School of South Indian Buddhism in Kānchī. IOC, 4th Session, 807-30.)
1928.	Introduction to R. Gopalan's The Pallavas of Kānchī.
1928.	Bappabhaṭṭi-Charita. (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928.	Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting.
1929.	An Incident in the relation of the Governor of Poonamallee with Fort St. George. (IHRCP 92-99.)
	Introduction to V. R. R. Dikshitar's Hindu Administrative Institutions.
1929 November-December.	Kaḷabhra Interregnum: what it means in Indian History.
	XVII International Congress, Oxford. (Under publication in J.A.S.B.)
1930 August.	Mahābhārata (Book Notice.) (IA.)
1930.	The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Book Notice). (IA 188.)
1930.	Raja Dēśing of Gingee. (IHRC, Gwalior, and JIH, Vol. IX, part i.)
1930.	The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South. (JIH, Vol. IX, p. 173.)
1930.	Gollapallee Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Patna, and JIH Vol. IX, p. 361.)
	Notes on the Term "Dainâti" in a Mackenzie MS. (JIH Vol. IX, ii, VII.)
1930 December.	Sir Streynsham Master's account of the Golla-
1931 April.	palle Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Vol. XIII, p. 43.)
	In Memoriam (R.C. Temple.) (JIH Vol. X, part i pp 77-81.)
1931 July.	Pai-a-Saddha Mahannava (Prakrita Śabdha Mahārṇava (Book Notice; Vol. LX. 140.)
1931 August.	Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah and his Ministers, Mādanna and Akkanna. (JIH, page 43.)
1931.	The Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India (Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University).
1931.	Presidential Address to the First Historical Congress, Bombay.

1931.	Introduction to two parts of the Best short stories of India Messrs. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.
1932 May.	Panchavāravāriyam. XVIII International Congress of Orientals, Leiden, (IA Vol. LXI, p. 81).
1932 June.	The Mahābhārata (Book Notice. IA Vol. LXI, 119).
1932.	A Note on the term "King of Vellore" by Travellers in India. (J.I.H. XI. i. 114-21.)
1932.	Edition of Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of South India.
1932.	Pāncharātra in Tamil Literature (Contribution to Winternitz Memorial Volume).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

(1) A. B. I.=Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.

(2) I. A.=Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

(3) I. R.=Indian Review, and India Review published in Mysore, now defunct.

(4) I. O. C.=Indian Oriental Conference.

(5) I. H. R. C. P.=Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings.

(6) J. R. A. S.=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

(7) J. S. I. A.=Journal of the South Indian Association.

(8) J. A. S. B.=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(9) J. Bo. Br. S.=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(10) M. C. C. M.=The Madras Christian College Magazine.

(11) S. I. A.=South Indian Association, Mylapore, Madras.

(12) S. T.=Śen Tamil, Journal of the Madura Śangam.

(13) T. A.=Tamilian Antiquary, Trichinopoly.

(14) Q. J. M. S.=Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

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"The Round Table."

No. 87 June, 1932.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

The Round Table, concerned as it is primarily with the affairs of the British Commonwealth, naturally devotes the first article in its June number to the subject of the Ottawa Conference. After repeating, in the light of the recent speeches by statesmen in the Dominions, *The Round Table* views upon the general problem of imperial preference, which are elaborated more fully in the March number, the article discusses a number of special questions that will arise at Ottawa, notably emigration, permanent imperial organisations, and Empire currency and credit.

The author of the second article, entitled "Reflections on the Crisis," pauses to consider the too familiar political and economic impasse and the possible means of escape from it. How can prices be made to rise, and what is the function of governments in economic restoration? In the international sphere at least, at Geneva and Lausanne, they have an unmistakable task, and Great Britain a special opportunity of leadership.

After Ottawa, the problem which chiefly agitates the usually placid waters of imperial politics is that of Ireland, to whose development *The Round Table* has devoted special attention since the War. The latest number contains a full account from an Irish pen of the dispute over the oath and land purchase annuities, headed by an editor's preface which marks out a line of policy, and rounded out by an economic appendix which indicates some of the commercial consequences of Anglo-Irish estrangement.

For the United States, writes the American author of the fourth article, 1930 was the year of disappointment, 1931 was the year of disillusionment, 1932 is the year of despair. But governmental efforts to check credit deflation have already accomplished something to allay the panic, and even the nominal balancing of the Federal budget might do more.

The article on Disarmament describes from the spot the problems and progress of the Conference at Geneva, notably the reception of the French plan and the somewhat unexpected choice of the "qualitative" method of approach. There follow two articles on the Far Eastern dispute, the main one seeking to lay

are, in the history, the economic situation and the racial characteristics of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, the roots of the present trouble, and adding some reflections upon the need for inserting the rather shaken force of the collective system. "The first condition of helpfulness is understanding." The view of those in the thick of the trouble is given in a short account from Shanghai itself, expressing the view of the foreign residents upon the opportunity for permanent reform in the Settlement.

A correspondent in India describes the progress of the Government's policy of urging on the reforms while relentlessly warning against the wrecking tactics of Congress. It is, on the whole, a hopeful account, though the communal problem is tenser than ever, and the economic troubles of the country show no signs of relief.

The regular article on affairs in Great Britain naturally uses a large part of its space in describing the substance of the new tariff and the method of its construction. The reactions of the Liberal and Labour parties, the means test controversy, the budget and bye-elections are also dealt with. From Canada come an account of the parliamentary session (including the budget) and an essay on the condition of the prairie provinces after three years of drought and low prices.

Australia sends a most instructive account of the dispute between the Governments of New South Wales and the Commonwealth, which has recently culminated in the dismissal of Mr. Lang from the State premiership, and a section on the Australian attitude towards imperial preference, a matter which is touched upon in other Dominion contributions. A South African correspondent describes the recent course of political affairs in the Union and appends a summary history of native policy from 1910 to 1932. The quota of Dominion articles is completed with one from New Zealand in which the problem of the exchange rate receives special attention.

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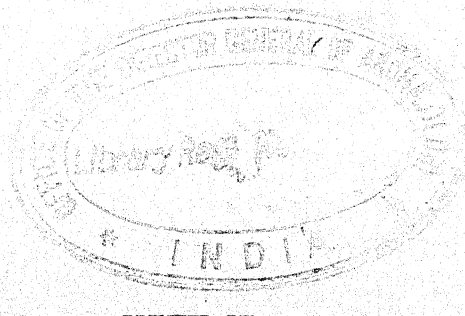
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Notice to Contributors

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'Śrīpadam,' 143 Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indention at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (' ') for the actual quotations.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as

in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodcal in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (*J.A.*, *JAOS.*, *JASB*, *JRAS.*, *ZDMG.*) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alteration in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

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Journal of Indian History

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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Professor, Annamalai University.

XI

I. FRENCH NEGOTIATIONS WITH MYSORE BEGIN—SALABAT JANG'S DIFFICULTIES

EARLY in January 1752, Dupleix planned to convert the Villiyanallur temple into a fort, by raising batteries and constructing outer walls. Chanda Sahib sent a letter informing that the Mysore Dalavai was dead (the news was wholly false) and that the matter had been kept a secret for about three weeks and that Kāntayarāja, the former commander, had been appointed to his place[1]. Of

1. In the reign of Chama Raja Wodeyar VII (1731-34), the three chief offices in the Mysore State; those of the *Dalavāyi* (head of the army), *Sarvādhikāri* (head of finance and revenue) and *Pradhāna* (privy councillor) were held respectively by Devaraja who was the Dalavāyi and Nanja Raja, his cousin, who combined in himself the other two offices. Chama Raja Wodeyar contrived to displace them; but they found means to recover their position quickly and to imprison the Raja and his wife. They raised to the throne Chikka Krishna Raja Wodeyar, a child of a distant branch of the ruling family. Nanja Raja died in 1747 and was succeeded by an-

course there was no truth in the news at all; but there was possibly some confusion in his mind between the two Nanja Rajas (written Nandi Raja in the Diary), the first, a cousin of Devaraja and the second, his younger brother who occupied the office of *Sarvadhikari*.[2] Madame Dupleix persuaded her husband to write to the ruler of Mysore, asking him to help the French and not Muhammad Ali; and Dupleix himself was of the opinion that, but for the help of Mysore, Muhammad Ali could not have withstood the French so long.

Meanwhile, the troops of Raza Sahib which had had to flee to Chettupattu, plundered, in February, the region of Poonamalle, Mylapore, the Great (St. Thomas') and Little Mounts, Saidapet and Kunnattur which were large and prosperous villages. The Indian merchants of Madras were reported to have taken shelter with their goods at Sadras and Pulicat; and the Diarist regretted that they did not go to Covelong which was in French occupation, and wrote that M. Le Blanc, the chief at that place, "troubles people,

other person of the same name, who was the younger brother of Deva Raja and surnamed Karachuri. Nanja Raja was a truculent person and contributed, in great measure, to the eclipse of the dynasty and the rise of Haidar Ali. After a successful expedition into the Coimbatore country, he married his daughter to the nominal Raja, as a first step to his other ambitious projects. Haidar first came under his notice in 1749, during the siege of Devanahalli. He agreed, against the wishes of his elder brother, Deva Raja, the Dalavāyi, to assist Muhammad Ali, and led an army of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry from Seringapatam to Trichinopoly, about the time of Clive's siege and subsequent defence of Arcot. His transactions and movements round Trichinopoly lasted till 1755 when he returned to Mysore at the summons of his brother, in order to meet and repel an invasion of Salabat Jang and Bussy. Deva Raja retired from government in 1757, disgusted with the cruelty practised by Nanja Raja towards the Raja and his partisans who had attempted to throw off the supremacy of the two brothers. Nanja Raja was responsible for the usurpation of Haidar Ali who got him imprisoned in 1767, "in so far as a single personage could be held responsible for it." (See The *Mysore Gazetteer* (New Edition) Vol. II, Modern, Part IV. *pp.* 2465 *et seq;* M. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Ind. ed.) vol. i. *ch.* VII.).

2. *Vide Note* 1: Mr. Dodwell says in foot-note 2, on p. 90 of the *Diary*, vol. viii; "I am entirely at a loss to account for his (Chanda Sahib's) statement that Nandi Raja was not the younger brother of the Dalavāyi."

so that all fear him and prefer Pulicat or Sadras."[3] There is a hiatus in the *Diary* for three months (February 13th to May 12th). The entry for the latter date gives news from Salabat Jang's camp, according to which Namat-ullah Khan, who was a son of Khajah Abdulla Khan, Nawab-designate of the Carnatic, and who had been recently the Nawab of Rajahmundry, was to get the subah of Arcot and he was to come down with an army, subdue the refractory Pathans of Kurnool and suppress the disturbances caused by Muhammad Ali Khan, the English and the Raja of Mysore.[4] Khaja Namatullah Khan and Muzaffar Khan (Abdul Rahman who had

3. Raza Sahib made a rally at Chēttupaṭṭu after his defeat at Arni, and later at Covelong, with a design to attack San Thome; but he was not in a condition to do it (Despatch of Fort St. David to the Company, dated January 25, 1752). From a subsequent despatch of Thomas Saunders, dated February 15, 1752, we learn that Raza Sahib plundered and burnt some villages of Poonamalle and carried off to Pondicherry the furniture of the houses at St. Thomas Mount and Marmalong (Mambalam-Saidapet). The Pondicherry Council repudiated the English claim to these places; and the latter were unable to check these ravages for want of horse and their force at Madras was insufficient to defend even the Black Town (George Town) and the Pettahs; and Muhammad Ali had not sent a detachment of cavalry for which he had been so often pressed. (Madras Council's Consultation, dated February 3, 1752—pp. 1-2 of *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of* 1752).

4. Compare with a letter to the Madras Council alleged to have come from Salabat Jang, read at a Consultation of the 10th February, 1752 (O.S.), which exhorted the English "to quit Mahomed Ally's Interest, as He is a Rebel, and to espouse that of Chunda Saib" and "which by the confession of the Hircars coming from Pondicherry, we can't help entertaining some doubts with regard to it's being really wrote by Salabat Jang . . ."—Ibid—p. 3.

With regard to the refractory Pathans of Kurnool, it is to be noticed that in the *melee* that occurred at Luckireddipalli pass in the Rayachuti taluk, Muzaffar Jang fell, struck down by a javelin thrown by the Nawab of Kurnool (January 1751). Himmat (or Himayat) Khan, the Nawab, had succeeded to power in 1733, had defied Nasir Jang who had to conciliate him and accompanied his new master on the Carnatic expedition. Shortly after he left Kurnool, heavy floods passed down the Handri and the Tungabhadra and washed away portions of the fort walls. The Nawab requested permission to return to Kurnool; but Nasir Jang declined permission. Later, a misunderstanding was created between the two by one Saif-ud-din and the ill-feeling was increased by the disappointment of the Nawab in his expectations of obtaining considerable immunities and an addition of territory from the Suba. The Nawab was killed in the *melee* of Luckireddipalli; and Salabat Jang and Bussy carried the Kurnool fort by assault in March, 1751 and imprisoned the Nawab's wife and two sons. Kurnool was placed in charge of one Sayyad Alam and of the Zamindar

accompanied Bussy) advanced, by way of Gadwal, on Kurnool; but when batteries were about to be raised and the troops of Munawmar Khan (younger brother of Himmat Khan who had successfully got possession of his brother's dominion) which were encamped near the fort were to be attacked, the French people, who were probably the troops attached to Muzaffar Khan, came away; and operations were consequently affected. Hearing that Namatullah Khan had only a small army, the English and Muhammad Ali became emboldened and resolved "to drive away from Srirangam to Pondicherry or to destroy altogether Chanda Sahib with his Muhammadan troops, M. Law and Shaikh Hasan with the French troops, before they can be joined by Namatullah's troops, Muzaffar Khan's troops and the troops that will arrive by the Europe ships, as after that it would be impossible to dislodge the French."[5] The English, we are told by the Diarist, were resolved to fight to the end, and even spend the Company's money on continuing the war and fight harder than ever, even if Muhammad Ali could not find any more money.[6]

Ranga Pillai's note on the situation of Salabat Jang is interesting. Writing on May 12th, he says that the Nizam's treasury was empty; and his elder brother and rival, Ghazi-ud-din Khan had been writing to many that Salabat Jang should not be recognised and the various killedars would not pay their *peshkash*, while the French troops were giving trouble on account of their arrears; and the jaghirdar of Pālaki (son of Raja Chandrasen) was giving trouble. Nor was the situation at Delhi any better, where the Mughal throne was about to be swallowed up by Ahmad Shah

of Gadval; but in 1752, Ranmas Khan (*alias* Munawwar Khan) Bahadur brother of Himmat Khan, returned from Arcot, whither he had gone, to seize the estate. He got a sum of money from the Nawab of Cuddapah, was joined by Khandoji Pandit with a body of 2,000 horse, and after six months of fighting and negotiation, got possession of the fort of Kurnool and made an amicable arrangement with the Nizam. Ananda Ranga Pillai wrote in his *Diary* (July 14, 1752) thus:—"I hear that Salabat Jang has ordered Coja Namat-ul-lah Khan and Muzaffar Khan at Kandanur to deliver up that fort and country to Munawwar Khan, Himmat Bahadur Khan's younger brother and join him at Hyderabad. As Muzaffar Khan has also written this to me, I think it must be true."—pp. 141-2 of the *Diary*, vol. viii.

5. Diarist's entry for May 12th, 1752. p. 95 of the *Diary*, Vol. VIII.

6. See the Madras Consultation of 13th April, 1752, resolving to press Muhammad Ali for money who said that the Mysore ruler would repay the advances made and ordered his officials to pay a part of the produce.

Abdali's invasion. 'Till now', the Diarist remarks, "the Moghuls have exercised authority, but henceforth the Pathans will take their place, or the Rajas of Hindustan, the Rana of Udaipur *etc.*, may become the masters."[7]

II. The Death of Chanda Sahib and of Raja Raghunath Das

Very little is found in the *Diary* of the operations round Trichinopoly, of Clive's victory at Kaveripak, Lawrence's arrival from England and his assumption of command, Chanda Sahib's retreat into Srirangam, the English blockade of the island, D'Auteuil's retreat to Uttatur and Clive's march on it—all of which took place before the end of April. He mentions that the English, Muhammad Ali Khan's troops and the Mysoreans intended to attack D'Auteuil at Uttatur, whereupon the latter had retired to Valikandapuram. Also Law, Chanda Sahib and the blockaded troops at Srirangam were suffering much from want of food and money; the sepoys and troopers had not received any pay at all for the last three months; and many had deserted to the enemy, who had occupied Koiladi, at the eastern end of the island, while others had resolved to obtain *cowles* and return with them to Pondicherry.

In this distressing condition (about the middle of May), Dupleix received an entreating letter from Salabat Jang who begged him to order Bussy and Shaikh Ibrahim to guard his person night and day, saying, "you protected me while he (Raghunath Das) lived, and must protect me now that he is dead."[7a] Dupleix accordingly wrote letters urging Salabat Jang to do exactly as Bussy

7. Ghaziu'd-din Khan I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) was appointed to be the rightful Nizam by the Emperor in January 1751. Mahmud Khan Bangash invaded Oudh and invested Allahabad, but was routed by the Marathas and by Safdar Jang in April. Early (i.e. in March) in the next year, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered Lahore and annexed the subahs of Lahore and Multan. In April, Qalandar Khan, Abdali's envoy, reached Delhi; and in May, Ghaziu'd-din Khan left Delhi for the Deccan; he died at Aurangabad in the middle of October, being poisoned by his stepmother. In April 1752, Raja Raghunath Das, the Diwan of Salabat Jang, was murdered in a mutiny of his soldiery at Balki. Sayyad Lashkar Khan who succeeded him as Diwan, was ill-disposed towards Salabat Jang and secretly favoured Ghaziu'd-din. (*see* Burgess, The Chronology of Modern India (1494-1894)—p. 193 and J. N. Sarkar's article on The Chronology of Delhi History (in the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII, Part I. pp. 89-90).

7-a. Vide *supra*, note 21.

should advise[8], and also to Abdul Baqar Khan[9], who "is to be Diwan in the place of Raghunath Das", advising him that according to Bussy's instructions, he (i.e., Dupleix himself) was "induced to appoint him diwan". He was advised to bear two things in mind: "one is to labour with a single heart in Salabat Jang's affairs; and the other is to be our (French) man and manage our (French) affairs with all fidelity." The death of Raja Raghunath Das was a severe strain on Bussy's influence and dominance at the Nizam's court; and Dupleix had to write to Shaikh Ibrahim to do whatever Bussy should ask him to do and not disobey him even in the merest trifle.

The Diarist's entry for June 6, 1752 contains a bit of interesting news about Delhi affairs. The Afghans had captured the fort of Lahore and murdered Mir Mannu and returned to their hills owing to the approach of the rains; and the Hindustan Rajas near Delhi had assembled together with a lakh of horse and threatened the Emperor Ahmad Shah with an ultimatum that he should abdicate and the throne would be given to a boy of Alamgir's family.[10]

8. Saunders, the English Governor, wrote in a separate despatch, to the Company, dated July 5th, 1752, that he had tried various methods, in vain, to get letters conveyed to Salabat Jang, and had only received letters from him *via* Pondicherry. (Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches* (1744-55)—p. 171.

9. Professor Dodwell supposes that this person should be identified with Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was in fact appointed at once. Abdul Baqar Khan was, according to the Diarist, nominated Diwan of Salabat Jang by Dupleix. Sayyad Lashkar Khan was an officer of experience even in 1741, when he artfully secured the submission of Nasir Jang who had risen in rebellion against his father, in the field of battle. He became the governor of Aurangabad later on. (See H. G. Briggs' *The Nizam*, Vol. I, p. 51 *et seq.*) Sayyad Lashkar Khan was succeeded as Diwan by Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the *Ma'asiru'l-Umara.*

10. Ahmad Shah was the son of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, whom he succeeded on the 15th April, 1748, 27th Rabí II, A.H. 1161. After a reign of 6 years, 3 months and 8 days, he was deposed and imprisoned and afterwards blinded, together with his mother Udham Bai, by his prime minister, Imad-ul Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan II, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan I, on Sunday, 2nd June, N.S. 1754. After this he lived more than 21 years and died on the 1st of January, A.D. 1775. After his imprisonment, Alamgir II, son of Jahandar Shah, was raised to the throne. A *History of Ahmad Shah*, has been abstracted by Professor Dawson in the 8th volume of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (pp. 104 *et seq*) which shows the condition of affairs. Muin-ul Mulk, Rustam Hind, called commonly Mir Mannu, was

Bad news from Srirangam reached the Diarist's ears on the 8th June in the shape of Chanda Sahib having written to the Governor that M. Law had gone over to Muhammad Ali Khan and the English and ruined everything. D'Auteuil who had advanced to Valikandapuram was attacked by Birki Venkat Rao with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped at Samayavaram and forced to retreat to Ranjangudi, being unable to reach Srirangam; but Mutabir Khan, the faujdar of that place, would not admit them and, on the other hand, helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack them. D'Auteuil surrendered without striking a blow.[12] On June 15th, Ranga Pillai heard that Chanda Sahib had tried to escape, as a faqir, from custody, but had been seized; and when the news reached Fort St. David, a salute was fired and sugar was distributed to the people. The next day he learnt that Chanda Sahib, Shaikh Hasan, Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple, and could get no provisions; and, in despair, Chanda Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manoji Appa of Tanjore and Murari Rao, on condition that he was to be escorted beyond Tanjore and sent to Karikal. He was to be disguised as a faqir; and so he set out, escorted by Murari Rao. But Muhammad Ali's people found him out and declared that they would take him to the fort of Trichi-

the son of Itimadu'd-daula, Kamaru'd-din Khan. He was appointed governor of Lahore by the Emperor Ahmad Shah after the battle of Sirhind, in which his father was killed. He died early in 1756, not now, as the Diarist wrote both on May 12th and on June 6th, 1752. Mir Mannu governed the Punjab with vigour, chastised the turbulent Sikhs, withheld from Ahmad Shah Abdali the revenue of the four districts which he had stipulated to pay him after his second invasion of 1748, boldly resisted the third Abdali invasion of 1751-52, and fought with the invaders in the country between the Chenab and the Ravi. He only submitted to the Abdali after making a protracted defence of Lahore and got from the victor, the title of Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind. He took part in the civil war at Delhi that followed the assassination of the eunuch, Jawid and died only in 1756. Ahmad Shah's reign was torn with internal strife and external invasion. (*see* Syed Mahomed Latif's The *History of the Punjab*. pp. 221-5)

12. The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, 3rd June (O.S.), abstracts two letters from Captain Clive, the first advising his having taken Volcondah (Valikandapuram) and in it D'Auteuil, 3 other French officers and 50 Europeans, besides 300 sepoys, 300 horse, 4 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, and a large quantity of powder, ammunition and warlike stores; "the other (2nd letter) giving us the agreeable news that Chunda Saib, the night before, was taken prisoner." (Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book, 1752, Military Department*—p. 18).

nopoly; but the people of Murari Rao and the Tanjore folk protested that they had given a cowle or safe conduct to Chanda Sahib and carried him off in haste. Later, he was detained at the Dalavai Mantapam and not taken to Tanjore, but sent on to Manoji Appa's tent. Two days later, i.e., on June 18th, the Diarist received information that, when Chanda Sahib was saying his prayers in Manoji Appa's camp, his head was cut off; and the head and the body were carried on a camel to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Dupleix found fault with Law for giving up Chanda Sahib to Manoji Appa without insisting on getting a Maratha noble as hostage and being merely satisfied with asking the Tanjore general to take an oath, which he did by proxy and broke so soon afterwards.[13]

13. Wilks wrote that Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge, in recommending Chanda Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta." According to Orme, Chanda Sahib knew that the Tanjore general Manackjee was at open variance with his prime minister and might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests, and he followed the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both Law and Chanda Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their interest. When Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery, and that, by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable, and he promised under an oath taken on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chanda Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manajee had him imprisoned in a tent and put in irons. The next morning (1st June O.S.) there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manajee and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. To Manajee the Mysorean promised money, the Nawab threatened resentment and Murari Rao held out the fear of an attack; and he saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. On the morning when Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence that convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. The executioner was a Pathan, one of the Tanjore general's retinue. (Vol. I. pp. 236-42. 4th ed.).

Burhanu'd-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, written in the interests of Muhammad Ali, naturally gloats over the fate of Chanda Sahib, as being the visible manifestation of divine vengeance that he was treacherously murdered in the same choultry, the Dalwai Mantapam, in which, 16 years before, he had profaned the holy Quran by a false and treacherous oath of protection that he gave to the distressed Rani Minakshi. Wilks says that his death was looked upon in this light by all Mussalman writers; but he had a manuscript which stated that Chanda Sahib was murdered "at

It was widely believed at Pondicherry that Law misconducted himself at Srirangam; and the Diarist wrote that "it was by their own evil deeds that the army was swallowed up and they themselves (Law, Shaikh Hasan *etc.*,) fell into the enemy's hands". M. de la Tour who was senior to M. de Auteuil, refused to continue in service, as the latter who had married a sister of Madame Dupleix, was appointed Major Commandant of Pondicherry. There were rumours, of course untrue, of Nawab Muhammad Ali having been killed by Murari Rao, which were not given credence to either by Dupleix or by the Diarist.

III. Stalemate in the Situation—Dupleix's Intrigues

In July news came that the Raja of Mysore and Muhammad Ali had fallen out; and that the Mysore Dalavai and Murari Rao

the instigation of Muhammad Ali." He however believes that the Maratha general, Manajee, would not have thus disposed of his prisoner and incurred the disgrace of open perfidy, had it not been for his fear of getting involved in further disputes. He thinks that, in the mock conference held before Major Lawrence, the native chiefs were secretly agreed and that the Major was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates. (Vol. I—p. 177).

Malleson is of the opinion that "it is clear from Orme's version that Lawrence had it in his power to have saved Chanda Sahib, and did connive at the death of the unfortunate man." (*History of the French in India* —p. 328. note).

H. H. Wilson only justifies the conduct of Lawrence by maintaining that the English were at that time not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes. (Note on page 87 of Mill's *History of British India* (Vol. III)—1858).

Venkasami Rao says that Mankoji, the famous general of Raja Pratap Singh, who undertook a successful expedition against the Maravas, shortly afterwards made himself "infamous by faithlessly and inhumanly disposing of Chanda Saheb at Trichinopoly." Pratap Singh's chief minister, Sakhoji, was a great enemy of Mankoji. (*The Tanjore Manual;* pp. 733 and 789).

The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, the 15th June, 1752, merely records a letter from Major Lawrence "advising that the Allies not agreeing who should have Chanda, to prevent disputes, his head was cut off and carried into Trichinopoly; that Shaik Hussan is a prisoner in Syringham to whom he had promised protection."

Dodwell points out (in note 3, p. 66 of his *Dupleix and Clive*) that, according to Saunders' letter to Dupleix of Aug. 22, 1752, Lawrence seems to deny that any conference was held; he adds that he does not attach much value to this, as he expressly says the opposite in his narrative (*Cambridge*, p. 28).

who were not admitted into the fort of Trichinopoly, declared that they would certainly kill the Nawab and capture the place.[14] Later news was received that Muhammad Ali offered to cede to the Mysoreans the fort and country of Trichinopoly as soon as he should be firmly established at Arcot; to which they replied that the agreement was to deliver up the fort and country as soon as Chanda Sahib should have been defeated, on which event they were to have escorted him to Arcot, along with Murari Rao, and departed after installing him. The Diarist also notes that while the Dalavai wanted to seize Trichinopoly and rule at the place himself, the nominal Raja of Mysore wished to check him, "lest he should seize him as his predecessors had seized the former Raja and took possession of the country."[15] and that the Raja was trying to strengthen himself and then attack the Nanja Raja.

14. Major Lawrence and Clive both reported about the dispute that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and the Mysoreans as the former would not give up Trichinopoly and its dependencies to the latter as the price of their help. The Mysoreans and Marathas refused to march out from camp, and the Nawab could not join Lawrence in the proposed expedition to reduce Gingi, Chettupat, Chingleput and Vellore. The Madras Council resolved on the 29th June, O.S., that the English should not commit themselves to any precipitate action in the dispute which was "an affair of the utmost consequence," but should request the Dalawayi to send his *vakil* to Madras for negotiating for a settlement. Captain Dalton reported subsequently that Srirangam was, by agreement, delivered to the Mysoreans who were outwardly reconciled to the Nawab and that Murari Rao was not definitely on the English side, as he had a *vakil* at Pondicherry and frequently received letters from thence, and one of his captains had privately offered to desert to the English side, the moment his master joined the French. Dalton wrote later that Murari Rao was only designing to protract the war and to draw large sums from the Nawab as well as the Mysoreans who suspected that the Nawab and the Mahratha were both endeavouring to ruin them; and Murari Rao even threatened to join the Mysore general to sign a letter to Dupleix, promising to abide by any agreement that he should make with him (Consultation Minutes of 13th July). Dalton later on discovered a plot of the Mysoreans to get possession of Trichinopoly fort by arming the French prisoners and even murdering him. (Consultation Minutes of June 20th O.S.).

15. Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1713-31) of Mysore was a weak ruler; and his ministers secured their own authority by affected humility. Chamaraja Wodeyar VII (1731-34) was at first successful in displacing Devaraja and Nanjaraja, his cousin, who occupied the offices of Dalawayi and Sarvadhikari. But he was imprisoned along with his queen, by these and sent to Kabbāldurga, where he did not long survive. Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-66) was the reigning prince at this time; he was only 5 years old at his accession and married in 1747 the daughter of Nanja Raja Karachuri, the new Sarvadhikari and the younger brother of

The Diarist next records the news received from letters brought by the *Centaur* on July 13th, 1752 that no more war was to be made on the Muhammadans and peace should be made and commerce continued without interruption; no man was to be sent beyond the bound-hedge, and the mansab jaghir villages possessed by the Company's servants were to be handed over to the Company itself. The Diarist was doubtful of the authenticity of this information and wrote he must ascertain its truth. Professor Dodwell notes how Dupleix's letters regarding his own and other jaghirs had excited considerable criticism in France and how decrees of the Council of State dated June 6, 1750, and December 30, 1751, forbade the receipt of presents or gifts from foreign princes.

On the 16th July, it was reported to the Diarist that Muhammad Ali had left Khairu'd-din-Khan, his brother-in-law and the English troops in the fort of Trichinopoly and that he had departed secretly, without the knowledge of the Mysoreans, with his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, for Valikandapuram on his way to join Lawrence and to Fort St. David. Of course Dupleix kept up his buoyant hopes still; he spoke, more boastfully than was usual, that, if he had known of Lawrence's sailing to Madras, he would have ordered ships to seize his sloop; that he had frightened Governor Saunders at Madras by his letters and that the English knew not how to answer him and stood abashed.[15a] He was, neverthe-

Deva Raja, the nominal Dalawayi. In 1756, the Raja, now 27 years of age, attempted by a coup to imprison Devaraja and Nanjaraja and take the power into his own hands; but the attempt failed; and Nanja Raja stormed the palace and cut off the noses and ears of the Raja's partisans before his very face. Later, Haidar compelled Nanjaraja to make atonement for his outrage to the ruler (*Mysore Gazetteer* (revised ed.)—Vol. II; Part IV pp. 2472-5). Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani (in his *History Hydur Naik* (tr. by W. Miles) ch. V—VI) says that the Raja of Mysore was offended at the protracted operations of Nanja Raj before Trichinopoly and did not send any pay for the troops for 9 months; and he later reproached him in angry terms (pp. 39 and 61).

15a. Dupleix was fully alive to the critical situation that arose out of the surrender of Law and the death of Chanda Sahib. Even before these calamities occurred, he had written to Saunders stating that he had been authorised by Salabat Jang to settle the affairs of the Carnatic by giving Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali. Saunders waited for a day and wrote, after Chanda Sahib was dead that "Indeed, as Chanda Sahib is dead, I can see no reason why it may not be easily accomplished." But now Dupleix demanded the release of all political prisoners, "as a preliminary to discussing terms," and Saunders declined; and hence the negotiations broke down. Dupleix

less, anxious to know what happened in Madras after Lawrence's arrival, though the Diarist warned him that it was now a very difficult matter to obtain confidential news from the place, as it was strictly guarded. Dupleix planned to prevent Muhammad Ali's men from collecting the revenue in the country and from being enabled to pay his troops.

M. Kerjean, Dupleix's nephew who had accompanied Bussy along with Vincent, son of Madame Dupleix, to the Deccan returned to Pondicherry by way of Masulipatam and Pulicat, in time to take part against Major Kinneer whom Saunders sent, against Lawrence's urgent protests, to besiege and attack Gingee, in conformity with the desire of Muhammad Ali. The latter's situation was not very enviable; the sepoys were troubling him for their pay; the English would not advance him sufficient sums; and the Mysore agent, Birki Venkat Rao,[16] visited him in camp and importuned him for the cession of Trichinopoly to his master. Both Muhammad Ali and his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, who were encamped at Tiruvati were afraid of a surprise night attack on their camp, from the Portuguese Volonté, whose real name was Monis and had a *non-de-guerre, Kōnapparangi* (the hump-backed European), and who was encamped nearby.

The entry of the Diarist for July 30, has a reference to the acquittal of La Bourdonnais who was actually released from the Bastille to which he was committed, early in 1751 and to his *Memoire* written during his incarceration.[17]

IV. Minor Military Operations (August-October 1752)—Advance of Ghaziu'd-din

Rumours reached Pondicherry early in August, of a difference between Muhammad Ali and the English about his refusal

was stiffened by the knowledge that he was to receive reinforcements from Europe. (Dodwell p. 69 and Madras Consultation of Aug., 17, 1752.) (The Centaur landed troops and chests of silver; and 300 soldiers were expected—Diarist's entry for July 13th and 14th pp. 138 and 141 of the Diary Vol. VIII.)

16. Birki Venkkat Rao was a captain in the Mysore army and commanded the Mysore contingent, which included Haidar Ali and his brother, and joined Nasir Jang's army at Madagiri in 1750.

17. Dodwell says that La Bourdonnais' *Memoire* which was instrumental in defeating Dupleix's attacks upon him was composed by the same advocate, M. de Gennes, who was later on to draw similar documents for Dupleix.

to give Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans and his demands for money which the English were reluctant to advance further.[18] A few days later, news came that the troops of Muhammad Ali and the English had advanced against Gingee for the relief of which Kerjean was sent with a body of 300 Europeans and some topasses and sepoys. Major Kinneer, the English commander, found a main attack on the fort out of the question, without a much larger force and a long seige, though he had taken on his way the small fort of Villupuram. On their return from Gingee, the English troops encountered the advancing French and had to retreat after a brisk fire, back to Villupuram and Tiruvati. Dupleix told the Diarist that he had instructed the garrisons in the Tiruvati and Villupuram forts to surrender without fighting and when the English came on to Gingee, expecting that its garrison would do likewise, the latter should open a terrific fire on them; then the English fled to Muhammad Ali's camp; and the Nawab, when he learnt of the advance of the army from Pondicherry and of La Volonte's encamping in his rear, fled with his own and the English armies to Tiruvannāmalai by way of Tumbūr.[19] After this victory of Vikravandi, for which Dupleix ordered a salute of 21 guns and his wife hoped that God would bless the French with Muhammad Ali's head, his spirit was greatly elated with the news of a misunderstanding that took place between Muhammad Ali and his younger brother who reproached him for the march to Gingee, among other things, and departed to Tiruvannamalai. Muhammad Ali was greatly troubled for want of money with which to pay his sepoys; and the Diarist heard that he was informed by Mr. Starke, the new Governor of Fort St. David, that strict orders had come from Europe not to interfere with the French and that he could do

18. The Madras Consultation of 10th August, 1752, contains a resolution of the Council not to give the Mysoreans and Marathas any hopes of English assistance, but a previous consultation had resolved that "we shall rather persuade him to it than object to prevent the Mysore King's being disgusted, it be hinted to him that when the Nabob is once settled in the Province, if he can be prevailed upon . . . we shall have no objection."

19. All this is a great exaggeration. Major Kinneer only reconnoitred and did not make any attempt on Gingee; and after his defeat near Vikrawandi at the hands of Kerjean, with one of his legs shot through with a musket ball, gave orders for a treat which was performed in very good order to Villupuram and thence to Tiruvati; and according to the Madras Council's Consultation minutes, "the loss upon the whole is very inconsiderable and less than the enemy's, though they were superior in number," (Minutes of August 3, 1752 p. 29 of *The Military Consultations*, 1752.)

nothing for the Nawab who should write to Saunders at Madras. On August 19th, it was known that two nobles of Muhammad Ali were coming to Pondicherry to negotiate with Dupleix (which was done with English approval) and under his *cowle* of protection. After an amount of delay, in the course of which the two agents, Husain Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Masih Khan, were shown the strength of the sea-face batteries of Pondicherry and a few English troopers who had been seized on the sea, Dupleix refused to talk of peace until the French sepoy—captain, Hasonu'd-din and other prisoners with Muhammad Ali should be released.[20] Towards the end of August, the *gumastahs* of Kasidas Bukkanji and other bankers received information that Ghaziu'd-din Khan had crossed the Narmada and reached Burhanpur with 60,000 horse, and accompanied by Mulhar Rao Holkar and other Maratha sardars. Sayyad Lashkar Khan and other Mughal nobles advised Salabat Jang not to quarrel with his elder brother; but on his not agreeing to this course, the Sayyad and a few mansabdars and jaghirdars had resolved to join Ghaziu'd-din Khan and proceeded to Aurangabad; while Nizam Ali Khan, a younger son of Nizamu'l Mulk might either join Ghaziu'd-din or await his arrival at Hyderabad.[21] Ghaziu'd-din occupied Aurangabad, with

20. "The President acquaints the Board that the Nawab, by his vakil, had made overtures of peace to Dupleix who refused to hearken to any terms until the French prisoners are delivered up." Council Consultation of Madras, 17th Aug., 1752.

21. Ghaziu'd-din Khan had opened negotiations with Peishwa through the agency of Mulhar Rao Holkar and succeeded in inducing that Maratha chief to support his pretensions. From June 1751 to the autumn of that year, Salabat Jang was not threatened. During this interval Ghaziu'd-din and Balaji Rao had time to cement their plans. Bussy stood behind Salabat Jang with his French soldiers and trained artillery and infantry. Balaji had stipulated from Ghaziu'd-din the cession of the districts of Aurangabad and Burhanpur; and his first campaign against Salabat Jang had been interrupted. He received indeed from Salabat Jang a cash payment of two lakhs; but now his position had been strengthened and he resented an attack on a Maratha convoy ordered by Raja Raghunath Das. He ordered, in the autumn of 1751, the Holkar and Scindia to join Ghaziu'd-din and effect a junction with himself near Aurangabad, now occupied by Salabat Jang. Bussy advised the Nizam to leave Aurangabad to its fate and march on Poona itself. He also intrigued with old Tara Bai who was the inveterate enemy of the Peishwa and, after defeating the Peishwa near Poona, marched on Poona itself. At Kukadi, he took the Marathas by surprise (22nd November) when they were engaged in religious devotions consequent on an eclipse of the moon; and he followed this up by sacking Ranjangaon and Talegaon and meeting a vigorous Maratha attack led by

150,000 men and supported by Mulhar Rao Holkar and the main Maratha army and also by the bulk of the Mughal nobility of Aurangabad and Burhanpur.

Meanwhile, a Mughal arrived at Pondicherry who alleged he had brought with him the Padshah's *parwana* for Dupleix which had been requested to be granted by Raja Raghunath Das and had been issued by Mansur Ali Khan[22] when the Peishwa had been overthrown and had been delayed as Raghunath Das died before he could send it on. He claimed to be a sardar of 1,000 horse, by name Yusuf Bashi Khan and to have brought also dresses of honour for Dupleix, his wife and her daughter, as well as a *parwana* of confirmation for the subah of Arcot, which was to be given to the French Governor to be sent on to Muhammad Ali, on condition that he would obey the former. He was persuaded to write a letter to Muhammad Ali Khan, asking him not to increase the trouble and go on warring against the French and promising him

the Peishwa and by Dattaji and Madhava Rao Sindia. Now the Peishwa changed his tactics, and directed his cousin Sadasiva Rao to open negotiations with Raja Raghunath Das, the Nizam's Diwan. He fomented discontent among the Mughal soldiery, asked Raghuji Bhonsle to harry the Nizam's eastern frontier between the Godavari and the Penganga and contrived to get possession of the fort of Trimbak. Salabat Jang had to retreat to Ahmadnagar and on the advice of Bussy, signed an armistice with the Peishwa (January, 1752).

It was on the return march from the armistice that Raja Raghunath Das was assassinated by a body of Mughal soldiers. Sayyad Lashkar Khan, the governor of Aurangabad, was now made the Diwan. (See Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People;* Vol. III. Ch. XLIX and Grant Duff's *History,* Ch. XVIII)—For the route of Bussy and Salabat on their march to Poona, *see* note on p. 359 of Malleson's *History of the French in India.*

According to the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII—pp. 316-118), Ghaziu'd-din left his son. Shahabu'd-din Muhammad Khan, as his deputy in the office of Mir Bhakshi (at the Imperial court) and proceeded towards the Deccan, taking with him Malhar Rao and reaching Aurangabad in the month of Zi'l Ka'da (July-August, 1752) —For the English attitude towards him see *Madras Military Consultations* (1752)—p. 41.

22. Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh and surnamed Mansur Ali Khan, was the nephew and successor of Sadat Khan, the founder of the dynasty. He was appointed Wazir in 1748 on the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and conducted the entire administration for several years. He was dismissed from the Wizarat in 1752 A.D. (A.H. 1166).

Dodwell says that a large sum of money had been sent to Delhi to procure the parwana, and Bussy recommended Dupleix about this time to come to terms with Muhammad Ali.

an *ināyat-nāma* from Sayyad Lashkar Khan that he had brought with him. To this letter which was despatched on the last day of August, a reply was received the very next day from Muhammad Ali, declaring that the Mughal envoy should have gone to him direct if he had really a *parwana* confirming the grant of the Carnatic *subah* to him. He also wrote a letter to Dupleix saying that if he should be treated with justice, he would act according to the French Governor's desires and grant him all the jaghirs which Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang had given him, adding, "whatsoever may be further demanded". This letter did not apparently please Dupleix, who, according to the Diarist, refused to send a reply and forbade Muhammad Tavakkal from going to him, as he desired, for beginning negotiations.

V. English Capture of Covelong and Chingleput and After

After the battle of Bahur where Lawrence who had returned from Madras lured the French troops under Kerjean to fight him (September 6), Muhammad Ali, though elated by the victory, wrote another letter, in smooth words, to Dupleix, requesting his friendship and promising him additional jaghirs to the French people. To this Dupleix replied, urging Muhammad Ali to release the prisoners taken in the fight (Lawrence having allowed only Kerjean who was badly wounded, to return to Pondicherry) and promising that the released officers would not take up arms again. Muhammad Ali would not release the prisoners, nor even return the *palanquins* and *dhoolies* sent to fetch them, but continued to protest through messengers, his readiness to be friends with Dupleix. (Diarist's entries for September 7 and 9).

On the 12th of the month, Dupleix received, in a specially prepared *shamiana* amidst great pomp, the Padshah's *parwana* and presents; and in the entry for the next day, the Diarist gives a translation of the *parwana,* which addressed Dupleix as the Captain and Governor-General Bahadur Zafar Jang and exhorted him to continue "to regard Salabat Jang as a friend dear as your own life and afford him all the help of which you are capable."[23]

23. A Madras Council Consultation (Tuesday, 19th Septr. 1752) mentions a letter from Dupleix, enclosing a copy of the alleged Padshah's *farman,* approving of whatever he had done in favour of Salabat Jang and directing him to continue his assistance. Dupleix further offered to allow the English to compare the copy with the original. The Council resolved that they were of the opinion that the *farman* was spurious, "because the advices they lately received from Bombay and other parts are so contrary," and also because "it is extremely different from the form and stile in which papers of this kind are usually worded."

All the while the French could do nothing from the military point of view, though Dupleix sent out Europeans and sepoys as well as cannon and munitions of war to those who escaped to Ariyankuppam from the enemy, to show that "our army is ready for them". Dupleix was eagerly looking out for reinforcements which he was expecting from Mascareigne in order that he might begin operations again. One small ray of hope shone for a moment for Dupleix when the French garrison at Covelong opened fire upon troops of Clive and forced them to flee beyond the back-water where they were in fear of an attack from the French garrison at Chingleput (Diarist's entry for September 18.)[24] After hard fighting from the 16th to the 19th, the garrison at Covelong had to deliver up the fort to the English; and St. Germain who advanced from Chingleput, not knowing that the fort had surrendered to the English, came close to it and being surrounded and fired upon, lost many men and was forced to flee. Ranga Pillai quotes, at length, a letter that he received from one Krishna Pillai of Covelong regarding its surrender, the first flight of the English troops and the final surrender of M. le Blanc and his bullying and extortion (entry for September 20). Clive's advance on Chingleput and his raising a battery and sending for mortars from Covelong to fire shells into the fort which, according to the Diarist, had sufficient provisions, powder and shot for a year, the subsequent surrender of M. Villeon, the commandant of the place—these are detailed by the Diarist.[25] Both according to the Diarist and the English, the Chingleput fort could have successfully stood a siege. According to the former, Dupleix's letters ordered the garrison to surrender the fort to the English; and it was supposed by him that as there were no Europeans, but only Carnatic sepoys in the fort, it was thought they could not continue to resist for long.

24. This refers to the repulse of the first attack of the English troops on Covelong (Sadat Bunder) when they fled precipitately from a garden near the fort. They had to be brought back by Clive who was advancing with the rest of his force and who "obliged them, not without difficulty, and even with violence, to rally and return with him to the garden." (Orme. Vol. I. p. 262).

25. See Clive's paper, sent among his many memoranda, to his friend, the historian Orme, and preserved in the India Office, among the *Orme MSS. India,* Vol. II. pp. 309-10. This is printed *in extenso* in Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*—Vol. I. pp. 214-15—entitled "Siege of Cobelong and Chinglapet." See also Fort St. George letter to the Directors dated 3rd November, 1752, para 3, (in Forrest's *Bengal and Madras Papers,* Vol. II. (1688-1757).

The military situation round Pondicherry had come to be so bad in the beginning of October, that Maratha horsemen advanced as far as the bound-hedge of the town, "driving off the cattle, plundering the country and wounding many"; and the people in the out-villages had to take shelter in the town. Since it was rumoured that Muhammad Ali was planning to march to Arcot, after making another attempt on Gingee and demanding from Taqi Sahib of Wandewash, arrears of tribute due, Dupleix revived his negotiations with the Mysore General and Murari Rao. The Diarist's entry for October 7th, says that Mirza Abdul Nabi Beg was sent to treat with Murari Rao and Nanja Raja who were camping together. The conditions were that they should march together with their army and attack and slay Muhammad Ali; Murari Rao was to receive two lakhs of rupees and another similar sum when Muhammad Ali should have been disposed of. The Mysoreans were to receive Trichinopoly, in return for which they were to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. The French intrigues with these two had been going on for some time and were known to the English side.[26] The immediate consequence was that Murari Rao replied that he had given orders to the commander of the Maratha troops with Muhammad Ali Khan not to allow his horsemen to plunder the villages of Pondicherry, but to help the French people. Muhammad Ali broke up his camp near Wandiwash and marched back to Tiruwati, because, the Diarist wrote, the Mysoreans, Murari Rao and the Maravar were surrounding Trichinopoly in the hope of taking it. The Diarist gave the consoling encouragement to Dupleix that Muhammad Ali's play was drawing to an end; and his petty successes in the last two months, his getting money from Taqi Sahib, his luck in getting possession of Covelong and Chingleput—"all these are but the last flicker of the candle"; and that "he must suffer for his treachery even as Chanda Sahib did." (entry for October 10, 1752). The English were angry with him at not getting the Wandiwash money for himself, the Marathas threatened to abandon him; and his army was breaking up. As the Maravar were troubling the Dindigul country, Nanja Raja and the followers of Murari Rao camped at Karur and wrote recalling Innis Khan, the

26. The letter of Captain Dalton from Trichinopoly recorded in the Council Consultation of 17th August, shows that he had a suspicion that the ruler of Mysore was carrying on a secret negotiation with Dupleix. A later letter of Dalton's quoted in the Council Consultation minutes of 24th Aug., 1752, informs that the behaviour of the Mysore general and Murari Rao was so inconsistent and various, that it was evidently calculated to conceal their real intentions.

paymaster, who was with Muhammad Ali. The Diarist recorded on the 20th of October that Dupleix and his wife had a definite understanding that, as Murari Rao's army was coming without him, 1¼ lakhs of rupees should be paid a month, that on the arrival of the army one lakh should be given, with another lakh and presents on Murari Rao's arrival and 2 lakhs more when he should depart. The agreement was written out; and Dupleix and his wife swore to keep it and, in token thereof, dipped their fingers in red and touched the paper. The last two entries of the Diarist for October describe the forced conversion of a dying man, the Governor and Madame, putting down by sheer force all opposition of his Hindu relations.

ERRATUM

On p. 184 of J. I. H. Vol. X, Part II in lines 14 and 15, delete the words "But just at that time Deva Raja died . . . but not before he" and substitute the word "Nanja Ranja."

Some Problems about the Pradyotas of Avanti

By

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With the beginning of the fifth century B.C. we enter into the historical zone of central India, as of other parts of India. The Purāṇas, our main source of information for the preceding ages, are now usefully supplemented by literature of other types, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures which are notable for their accuracy and veracity. The synchronism which they establish among the four emperors of northern India, Bimbisāra, Prasenajit, Udayana and Pradyota is of the greatest help for the reconstruction of pre-Mauryan history.

Of Pradyota and the dynasty that he founded in Avanti, we get stray pieces of information from the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures; and the Purāṇas describe a dynasty beginning with Pradyota.[1] The Purāṇic list contains names most of which can be verified from other sources. Of late, however, some doubts have been raised whether the Purāṇic dynasty called the Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayinī were identical. The aim of this paper is to examine the objections that have been raised against the identification, as also other incidental problems. But before we do so, it is necessary briefly to examine the position where we stand as regards our knowledge of the dynasty.

Pradyota, who came to the throne about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., was like his contemporaries a very powerful king, famous for his fierceness and cruelty. The most important part of his foreign relations was his dealings with Udayana Vatsarāja, where his diplomacy, pitted against that of Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, reached its climax. The story, which formed a favourite theme of poets, dramatists and old story tellers,

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* pp. 18 f.

need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say, Udayana afterwards married Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota.

It is not easy to determine the extent of Avanti under Pradyota. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, makes it clear that the Bhilla-Pulinda chief, whose territory lay on the 'front' of the Vindhyas, off the road running from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayinī, was Udayana's subordinate ally.[2] We are further told that when starting on his conquests after his marriage with Vāsavadattā, Udayana placated his allies by a judicious distribution of territories, and one of the recipients was Gopālaka, the elder son of Pradyota, who was given the Vidiśā region.[3] It is evident, therefore, that eastern Malwa was not within the empire of Pradyota.

Pradyota had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka, and a daughter, the famous Vāsavadattā.[4] Gopālaka was friendly to Udayana and preferred to remain at the court of his brother-in-law.[5] When Pradyota died, Gopālaka abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother and was charged by Udayana with the bringing up of his son, Naravāhana,[6] obviously the Vahīnara of the Purāṇas.[7] The Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* further adds that Gopālaka gave away to Pālaka the kingdom of Kauśāmbi after the death of Udayana.[8] What is more probable, however, is that Gopālaka bequeathed the throne of Vidiśā only to his brother, as the Purāṇas carry on the Puru line four generations after Udayana.

According to the story of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* Pālaka, the successor of Pradyota, was deposed by Āryaka, the son of Gopālaka. Āryaka is certainly the Sanskritized form of Ajaka of the Purāṇas. He was succeeded by Avantivardhana, a son of Pālaka. Between Pālaka and Āryaka-Ajaka, the Purāṇas place one Viśākhayūpa, who is not known to any other authority. Pradhan makes him a

2. *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Kss.*), xii 45 f; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (*Bkm.*), II ii 60 f.

3. *Bkm.*, III i 101 f; *Kss.*, xix 57 reads *vaideha*, an obvious mistake for *vaidiśa*.

4. *Kss.*, xi 75 f; *Bkm.*, II ii 28.

5. *Kss.*, xiv.

6. *Ibid.*, cxi 60 f.

7. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. *Kss.*, cxi 92; *Bkm.*, xviii 7.

son of Pālaka and Jayaswal of Āryaka,[9] neither having any definite evidence to count upon.

Avantivardhana's name is found in the Purāṇas in many corrupt forms, Nandivardhana, Vartivardhana, etc. Jayaswal believes that Nandivardhana is the correct form, and identifies him with the Magadhan prince of the same name.[10] This theory cannot stand, as the Purāṇas are definite that Nandi-(Avanti-)vardhana belonged to the line of Pradyota and is confirmed by all versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The Magadhan occupation of Avanti must have come after Avantivardhana and not before him.

According to the Purāṇas the dynasty consisted of five members and ruled for 138 years. The total of the individual reigns and the total figure for the dynasty agree with each other, a rather unusual thing for the Purāṇas. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the figure against each king is correct; for the lesson that one derives from the study of the so-called Śiśunāga dynasty, the account of which can be verified by a reference to other sources, is that the Purāṇas are seldom correct in their figures and must in all cases be accepted with the greatest caution.

The Purāṇas add that after a reign of 138 years the Pradyotas were destroyed by Śiśunāga of Magadha. From the *Mahāvaṁsa* we know that Śiśunāga came to the throne 72 years after the death of the Buddha, i.e., in B.C. 411 (accepting B.C. 483 as the date of the Parinirvāṇa), and reigned for 18 years, i.e., till B.C. 393.[11] The Purāṇic statement would, therefore, mean that Pradyota's reign began sometime between B.C. 549 and 531.

According to the Jaina Paṭṭāvalis,[12] Pālaka ascended the throne the very night that Mahāvīra died (in B.C. 470) and reigned for 60 years. After him no member of his dynasty is mentioned, so that we may be justified in holding that the sixty years assigned to Pālaka include the reigns of his successors as well. If this be true, then we arrive at B.C. 410 (470—60) as the date of the destruction of the Pradyotas, a year well within the reign of Śiśunāga. If Pālaka and his successors reigned for 60 years, we

9. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 235 and 245; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1915, p. 106.

10. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

11. *Mahāvaṁsa*, ed. Geiger, p. 21.

12. Quoted in *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 149; *IA*, 1873, p. 363; *Acta Orientalia*, 1923, p. 33.

have to believe on the basis of the Purāṇas that Pradyota ruled for 78 (138—60) years, a historical absurdity; the Purāṇic figure cannot therefore be accepted as correct. There is no question of rejecting the Jaina evidence in favour of the Purāṇas, for the former is in a remarkable way borne out by another independent authority. We have a catching statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that Pradyota lived for at least some time after the death of the Buddha (B.C. 483), and Ajātaśatru was repairing the walls of his capital in anticipation of an attack from Pradyota.[13] The Jaina date of the accession of Pālaka (B.C. 470) cannot therefore be far from the truth.

The cause of the confusion of the Purāṇas and its probable solution may be found in the position of Viśākhayūpa (50 years), who might have ruled somewhere else after Pālaka as a rival of Ajaka-Āryaka and Avantivardhana. In that case, the total reign of the dynasty comes to 88 (138—50) years, and Pradyota's reign amounts to 28 (88—60) years; his accession has therefore to be placed in B.C. 498. In this way he can be a contemporary of both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

There is no doubt that the Pradyotas were ousted by a prince of Magadha. According to the Purāṇas, that prince was Śiśunāga; but the Paṭṭāvalis call him a Nanda.[14] It appears that Śiśunāga himself had some Nanda-title, which gave rise to the consistent Brāhmaṇical and Jaina traditions that the Nandas ruled for about a century.[15] Jayaswal believes that the Purāṇas are to be interpreted to mean that a descendant of Śiśunāga, and not Śiśunāga himself, was the victor over the Pradyotas.[16] This is utterly unconvincing and is due to his refusal to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga.

According to Harit Krishna Deb, Udayana succeeded to the thrones of Avanti and Magadha after Pālaka and Darśaka.[17] The basis of his theory is this: In the Purāṇic list of the Śiśunāgas we

13. *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. Chalmers, Vol. III, p. 7.
14. Cf. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, iv 18.
15. Pradhan suspects this fact and identifies him with Nandivardhana, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
16. *JBORS*, 1915, p. 108.
17. *Udayana Vatsarāja.*

find the name of Udāyi (with variants Ajaya, etc.) as the successor of Darśaka, the son of Ajātaśatru. In the list of the Avanti kings also we find the names of Ajaka and Nandivardhana as the successors of Pālaka. It is evident, according to Deb, that the two groups are identical and that Magadha and Avanti at some date formed part of the Vatsa empire under Udayana and continued so even under Udayana's son Nandivardhana. This is confirmed by the fact that the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* includes Magadha and Avanti in the list of the conquests of Udayana.

The line of argument, however, is faulty. We have the consensus of the Purāṇas as well as the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures that Udayī of Magadha was the direct descendant of Bimbisāra, so that there is no possibility of his being the same as Udayana of Vatsa. As regards Ajaka of Avanti we have seen that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* calls Ajaka-Āryaka 'Gopāla-dāraka', which means 'the son of Gopāla'. Besides, Avantivardhana and not Nandivardhana was most probably the correct name of the son of Ajaka-Āryaka. There is therefore no evidence for holding that 'Udayana Vatsarāja emerges before us as the first emperor of India since the great Civil War, under whom were first united the three kingdoms of Magadha, Vatsa and Avanti'.[18] It must be admitted that there was a change in the regular succession both in Magadha and Avanti after Darśaka and Pālaka respectively. But in neither case was it brought about by Udayana. In Magadha, it was accomplished by Śiśunāga and in Avanti by Āryaka.

It has sometimes been doubted whether the Purāṇic dynasty called Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayinī are to be identified.[19] The reasons for this doubt are:—

(1) The account of the Pradyota dynasty in the Purāṇas is hemmed in between two Magadhan dynasties, the Bṛhadratha and the Śiśunāga. The mention of the Pradyota dynasty in this peculiar position would be appropriate only if it ruled in Magadha. Jayaswal's contention that the account of the Pradyotas is to be read as a foot-note to the Śiśunāga dynasty[20] has no ground, as the Purāṇas give no indication to that effect.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
19. H. D. Bhide, *JBORS.*, 1921, p. 106 f.
20. *JBORS.*, 1915, p. 108.

(2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years; but Pradyota of Avanti had a much longer reign, being the the contemporary of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Darśaka.

(3) According to the Purāṇas, Pradyota's father was Pulaka; the *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives his name as Jayasena.[21] The two Pradyotas were therefore different.

(4) The Purāṇas call Pālaka's son Viśākhayūpa; but we know from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that Pālaka was succeeded by Āryaka.

Jyotirmay Sen further doubts whether there was at all any Pradyota dynasty at Ujjayinī contemporary of the Buddha.[22] His grounds are the following:

(5) Counting the number of Ikṣvākus and Bṛhadrathas from Adhisīmakṛṣṇa we find that though we have the Buddhist synchronism of Udayana, Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit, the Pradyota of the Purāṇas will be several generations prior to the other three.

(6) Pradyota's contemporaneity with the Buddha is also open to doubt when it is remembered that nowhere in earlier Buddhist texts is he brought in direct relationship with the teacher, nor is he made, if we accept the solitary evidence of the late *Theragāthā Commentary,* a convert to Buddhism.

(7) It is only in two Jātakas that Pradyota is mentioned. This contrasts with the case of the real contemporaries of the Buddha who figure largely in the birth-stories.

(8) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* clearly distinguishes between Pradyota of Magadha and Caṇḍamahāsena of Avanti.

From these Sen concludes that Pradyota lived several generations before the Buddha. Popular fancy, according to him, has connected Udayana and Pradyota, because both were abnormal in their characters, the one being extremely amorous and the other ferocious to an equal degree. 'The progress of the Pradyota legend,' he concludes, 'is interesting; it shows a deliberate attempt made from age to age to mould it in the light of fresh circum-

21. *Kss.*, xi 34.

22. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* 1930, pp. 678 f.

stances and exigencies, till we reach the absurdity in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* that Pradyota was the contemporary of Darśaka of Magadha. The Buddhist and Jaina synchronism of Pradyota with the two preachers was the result of the attempts of both the sects to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relationship with their masters. Pradyota remains throughout an enigmatic figure floating from time to time.'

Some of these arguments are utterly untenable and must be rejected; while the rest are not so cogent as to justify such an important conclusion. We may examine them one by one:

(1) In the Purāṇas as they stand, the position of the Pradyota dynasty is no doubt anomalous, and Jayaswal's assumption is certainly unjustified. I believe that the difficulty arises only with those scholars who still refuse to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga. It must be grasped that the Purāṇas are utterly wrong in placing Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra and that the true history of the period is to be found in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. With the recognition of this fact matters are considerably simplified. When the Bṛhadrathas and the Vītihotras passed away, the Pradyota dynasty came to power in Avanti. Contemporaneously with it, Bimbisāra and his successors were ruling in Magadha. The Ujjayinī and the Pāṭaliputra dynasties, however, were uprooted by Śiśunāga who made himself master of both. The Purāṇas sometimes mention contemporary dynasties as succeeding ones, as in the case of the so-called Āndhras, who were not a Magadhan power, though the Purāṇas would leave that impression. Here we stand on a firmer ground, for we are distinctly told that Pradyotas ruled in Avanti. The fact that the last Pradyota was defeated by Śiśunāga seems to be one of the reasons why the ill-informed Purāṇic copyists dragged Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra to show that Śiśunāga succeeded the Pradyotas.

The general Purāṇic text of the dynastic revolution organized by Pradyota's father runs thus:

Bṛhadratheṣv atīteṣu Vītihotreṣv Avantiṣu |
Pulikaḥ svāminaṁ hatvā sva-putram abhiṣekṣyati ||

Avantiṣu is the general reading of the Matsya; the Brahmāṇḍa and some MSS of the Vāyu have *a-vartiṣu*, while others have *vartiṣu*.

Harit Krishna Deb has translated the above passage as: 'When the Bṛhadrathas will cease to exist, as also the Vītihotras, in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king.'[23] Sen objects to this translation, because the Purāṇas mention the Vītihotras in the list of the early dynasties who ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas. So it is not possible for the Pradyotas to come to the throne after the Vītihotras had passed away; according to him, therefore, the correct reading of the Purāṇas ought to be *Vītihotreṣu vartiṣu,* 'when the Vītihotras were existing (ruling).' But if we examine the list of the early contemporary dynasties, we find that in spite of the definite statement of the Purāṇas that they ruled side by side with the Śiśunāgas, some of them at least had ceased to exist before the accession of Śiśunāga. We are told, for example, that there were 28 Maithilas;[24] but long before the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, Mithilā had ceased to be a monarchy, and even as a republic it did not live to see the beginning of Śiśunāga's power. Similar may have been the case of the Vītihotras who might have ceased to exist before the accession of Pradyota. It is not necessary, therefore, to doubt the reading *Avantiṣu* in the above verse. It may be pointed out that this reading is supported not only by a vast majority of the Matsya MSS, but also the Brahmāṇḍa MS of the Dacca University Library which Sen himself quotes in his article.

(2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years. Even if the figure is correct, there is no difficulty in his being the contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru; but his contemporaneity with Darśaka is open to the gravest doubt. The anonymous *Svapna-vāsavadattā* no doubt calls Udayana's Magadhan father-in-law Darśaka; but as D. R. Bhandarkar shows, that is well-nigh impossible.[25] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* calls him Pradyota, while the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* is silent about his name.[26] These differences tend to the conclusion that story-tellers had forgotten his real name and invented imaginary ones according to their fancy.

23. Deb, *op. cit.*

24. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

25. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures,* 1918, Lecture II. [According, to drama Princes Padmavati was the sister of Darsaka. S.K.]

26. *Kss.*, xv 19; *Bkm.*, III i 176; Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā,* tr. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XIV, p. 173.

(3) Pulaka (probably corrected to Puṇaka) is the real name of the father of Pradyota, as it is attested to by Bāṇa.[27] Later traditions have created some other names, such as Jayasena in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* Anantanemi in the Tibetan tradition.[28] All these variants do not justify multiplication of persons.

(4) We have seen above that Viśākhayūpa's chronological position is doubtful. He might have ruled after Āryaka or ruled simultaneously with him. Such cases of inversion are not rare in the Purāṇas.

(5) There is not much diversity in the number of descendants of the three dynasties, the Puru, the Bṛhadratha and the Ikṣvāku. The Purus from Parikṣit to Udayana count 25; the Bṛhadrathas from Jarāsandha to Ripuñjaya (whom Pradyota's father is reported to have killed) count 23; the Ikṣvākus from Bṛhadbala (killed in the Bhārata war by Abhimanyu[29]) to Prasenajit count 29, but as there are four false names in the list (*viz.* Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha and Rāhula) the actual number is 25. Thus the contemporaneity of Prasenajit, Udayana and Pradyota is sufficiently well-established even in the Purāṇas. There is no reason to think with Sen that the Purāṇic account of the Purus and Ikṣvākus is abridged, so that Pradyota is to be placed much earlier than Udayana and Prasenajit.

(6) Sen believes that Pradyota did not live in the time of Buddha because they are never brought into direct relationship with each other. A much simpler explanation is that they never came in direct relationship with each other, which is perfectly natural, because the Buddha never visited Avanti, his activities being confined to Kosala and Magadha. But we must remember that in the *Mahāvagga,* one of the earliest Buddhist texts, Pradyota is definitely said to have been a contemporary of Bimbisāra;[30] *a fortiori* Pradyota was a contemporary of the Buddha. The story of Pradyota's conversion to Buddhism, given in Dhammapāla's *Theragāthā Commentary,*[31] may be accepted or rejected. But the fact of Pradyota's not being a convert of Buddhism can never be regarded as a proof of his not being a contemporary of the Buddha.

27. *Harṣacarita,* ed. Führer, p. 270.
28. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 17.
29. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* IV iv 112.
30. *Mahāvagga,* VIII i 23 f, ed. Oldenberg, pp. 276 f.
31. *Psalms of the Brethren,* tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 238 f.

(7) The reason of the rare mention of Pradyota in the Jātakas is that the Jātakas are mainly concerned 'with the kingdom of the Kāśī-Kosala and Magadha, where Buddha, according to tradition, lived and taught; . . . here the acts of by far the largest majority of the Jātakas were performed.'[32]

(8) This point has been dealt with above in connection with (2). It is impossible to find a Pradyota in Magadha in the 6th or 5th century B.C. The Pradyota of Magadha mentioned in the Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* is the product of a confusion between the two fathers-in-law of Udayana. As is well-known, the Buddhists make Caṇḍa a surname of Pradyota.[33] There is no way therefore but to identify him with the Caṇḍamahāsena of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

Thus, none of the arguments of Bhide and Sen can stand scrutiny. The synchronisms of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Prasenajit, of Pradyota and Bimbisāra, of Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Udayana and, finally, of Udayana and Pradyota[34] are well-established by Buddhist tradition, substantially supported by Jaina and popular legends. And as nothing is found in the Purāṇas against these synchronisms, we may hold it proved that the four emperors and the two teachers were contemporaries. Support for this conclusion is available from every quarter, e.g., the Tibetan and Chinese legends, as well as the *Lalitavistara*,[35] where Sen is 'surprised to find' the name of the Pradyota dynasty. And against this have been raised only some futile objections and vague doubts; nothing has been pointed out which can really affect what is already known about the Pradyotas. There is no evidence of any 'progress' of the Pradyota legend; save a few details here and there, it has always remained the same, based on sound history.

32. Fick, *Social Organization of North-eastern India in Buddha's Time*, tr. Maitra, p. ix.

33. *Jātaka Text*, ed. Fausböll, Vol. V, p. 133; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 238, etc.

34. *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, ed. Norman, Vol. I, pp. 191 f; the anonymous *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa; Meghadūta*, i 31; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 268; all the versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, etc.

35. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, erster Teil, p. 21. (v.l. *Pradyotana*, *ibid.*, zweiter Teil, p. 9).

An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records

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I.

We have considerable historical material on Abul Hasan's minister, Mādanna, in two French sources on the history of Golconda, hitherto unnoticed by Indian historians—the Letters of Director-General Baron, and the Mémoires of François Martin. The information contained in these two documents is full enough to enable us to follow the administrative career of the man, and, by focussing our attention on the motives underlying his domestic and foreign policy, to form a correct estimate of Mādanna's position in 17th century history as a diplomat, administrator, and statesman. We shall attempt to do this, in the present article, and, as a necessary preliminary, we shall first briefly examine the contents and historical reliability of the two sources just alluded to.

The material relative to Mādanna, in Baron's correspondence, is comparatively scanty, and is found, in particular, in three letters which the French Director wrote to De La Haye, to Louis XIV, and to his minister Colbert between the years 1674 and 1676.[1] We have ourselves made careful copies of these letters from the originals lying in the French Colonial Archives at Paris. The material relating to Mādanna, in the Mémoires, on the other hand, is considerable, and will be found in Volume II of "Les Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry" a proof copy of which was presented to me by the editor M. Alfred Martineau.

As material for the historian, these two documents stand in a slightly different category from each other, in point of their

1. Baron á De la Haye, Madras le 14 Dec. 1674. AC. C²63. f. 271-279. Baron Louis XIV. Surat le 3 Jan. 1675 AC. C²63. f. 293-303. Baron á Colbert. Surat le 20 Oct. 1675 AC. C²63. f. 316-317.

character at least, if not in point of their historical reliability. This difference, is, of course, due to the difference in character of the men who wrote them. François Baron, the author of the letters, was a simple, plainspoken and an altogether loveable character as a man,[2] but, just for that reason, he is, as a chronicler of events, somewhat garrulous and gossipy,[3] and, therefore apt to rouse the suspicions of the sober minded historian. But we have really no reason to distrust or discount the little information Baron has to give on Golconda history. As we shall show when citing it, there were particular reasons why Baron could not have been mistaken in the facts he was recording.

The author of the Mémoires, François Martin, though a political disciple of Baron's[4] is, yet, in character, a perfect contrast to him. He is sober and matter of fact, where Baron is apt to be swayed by enthusiasm or imagination, prosaic and even dull where Baron is picturesque and always interesting. Though Martin's account often makes dull reading, it is thoroughly dependable, since his facts are well authenticated, and his opinions always expressed with impartiality and moderation. In respect of his information on Golconda, in particular, Martin's evidence is unimpeachable. He was not only well placed at Pondichéry to watch the course of events at Golconda for himself, but he also had a reliable correspondent there, in the person of the physician Destremeau. As Martin himself observes of his Golconda information "I only state as certain, things I have seen and known. I, of course, depend for my information on the letters and advices which I receive from people, but even so, I always carefully discriminate between people who can be trusted, and those who cannot."[5]

II.

The French accounts, unfortunately, say nothing of Mādanna's antecedents, before he came to power. Their notice of him only commences with his actual entry into Golconda politics, about the close of the year 1674. Martin describes his accession to the

2. See "Les Premiéres Rélations sentre les Français et les Princes Indigénes au XVIIieme Siecle: Adrian Duarte Paris 1932. p. 83-87.

3. See particularly his letter of Dec. 14, 1674.

4. See "Les Premiéres Relations etc." Adrian Duarte, Paris, 1932. p. 98-101.

5. Martin's Memoirs: Vol. II. p. 159.

wazirship with characteristic brevity. Mādanna "insinuated himself into the good will of the king" says he, "and assumed absolute power, after he had caused certain Pathan, Persian, and other lords to be arrested, or removed out of the way."[6] Baron, as usual, is more expansive. "The news of Golconda," he writes to De la Haye, "is that the court is, just now, in the throes of a great commotion, on account of the Brahmin Mādanna, who has gained complete influence over the mind of the king. Musca Mian is no longer governor of this province (Madras) of which Fatte Mian will take charge, unless the son of Mahomed Amin, captain of the guard, is preferred to him. Mousafer, Jabarek, Safi Alam Khan, and two other personages whose names I do not know, have fled for safety to the Mughal Court."[7]

These two accounts of the change of Wazirs at Golconda must be taken as substantially correct. Neither Martin nor Baron could have been mistaken with regard to the facts they chronicle, for both, at this time, had a special reason to watch the course of events at the Golconda court with great interest, and, one of them, Baron, with great anxiety. Their friend Chinna Pali Mirza had undertaken, in November 1674[8] to negotiate the sale of San Thomé to the French. The success of the negotiations had depended closely on the minister in power at the court of Golconda, and, as Mādanna was not well disposed towards the French because of the Dutch, his accession to power had proved fatal to the negotiations.

If the French version, then, is accepted as true, it will be found to vary, in two respects, from Sir Jadunath Sarcar's version of the change of ministers. Slight though these variations may be, they are yet worth discussion in the interest of historical precision and exactitude. Sarcar affirms[9] that the revolution in the Golconda wazirship took place in the year 1673; the French version places it exactly a year later. Whatever may be Sarcar's reasons for accepting the former date, we have already stated ours for preferring the latter—both Martin and Baron were interested observers of the events unrolling at Golconda, *at this*

6. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XIII. p. 38.
7. Baron á De la Haye, Madras. 14 Dec. 1674. p. 271-279.
8. Baron á Louis XIV. 3 Jan. 1675. AC. C²63. f. 298-303. Baron á Colbert. 23 Dec. 1675. AC. C²63. f. 318-324.
9. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-334.

particular point of time, and could not by any possibility have been mistaken about their date. On this point, therefore, their evidence ought to be conclusive.

The second variation, as to the cause of the change of ministers, is, to our mind, more important since it calls into question the characters of the two principal actors in the drama. Sarcar states[10] that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to office because he was exasperated with Muzaffar, for treating him like a cypher; the French version, without committing itself about Muzaffar, merely states that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to power, because Mādanna exercised a powerful ascendancy over the king's mind. Which of these versions is correct? If the Golconda king had anything like the character which Martin consistently gives him, the answer to this question is not difficult. Abul Hasan was temperamentally a cypher, and, as such, destined to be treated like one by any minister. The fact that Muzaffar treated him like a cypher would really not be conclusive with Abul Hasan in dismissing him. What really mattered was that he had come to like Mādanna more, and, to a weak, dependent monarch like Abul Hasan this was enough reason why he should authorise Mādanna to get rid of Muzaffar, and instal himself in his place.

III.

Even if we assume, for argument's sake, that Mādanna came into power as the result of an outburst of Abul Hasan's resentment against his old minister Muzaffar, it is certain that that resentment was the last evidence of strength which the king was destined to display. For, certainly, the very first activities which Martin has to record of the new Brahmin minister were activities directed towards making Abul Hasan a far greater cypher in all real management of the affairs of state, than he had ever been under Muzaffar Khan.

In three successive entries, dated respectively July and August 1675, and February 1676,[11] Martin shows us that Mādanna used his overwhelming ascendancy over the king's mind to completely alienate him from all knowledge of government, and render himself the absolute master of the state. In none of these

10. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-4.
11. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XII. p. 25 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.

three entries is there a hint to show that Abul Hasan exhibited the least strength of character to resist Mādanna's influence. On the contrary, in his entry dated August, Martin points out that "the king was in a species of indolence, and did not show the smallest inclination for government."[12] In that of February 1676, he further tells us that "indolence was eminently suited to the genius of this prince."[13] It does not seem possible, after these conclusive proofs, that Abul Hasan was anything but the "roi fainéant" that Martin makes him out to be.

However, our main interest is with Mādanna, and not Abul Hasan. Mādanna's earliest object, after his accession to office, appears to have been to reduce Abul Hasan to such a state of dependence and mental servitude to himself, that Mādanna would become the virtual ruler of the state. In these efforts he seems to have completely succeeded. Within two years of his accession to the wazirship, not only could Mādanna "manage the king, and turn him to his sentiments"[14] but the whole government and revenues of the state were now farmed out to Mādanna in return for a monthly stipend which the minister allowed the king for his royal expenses.[15]

These measures to enslave the head of the state were accompanied by other measures to enslave every branch of the Golconda administration. Mādanna doubtless felt that in the programme ahead of him, he could only control the resources of the state, and at the same time disarm all attempts at a counter revolution against himself, by controlling all the chief offices in the state, and manning them with his own trusty servants. On his accession to power Mādanna had already made a clean sweep of the principal office-bearers and substituted his own Brahmin creatures in their place.[16] The process was now steadily continued. In August 1675, Martin writes, "Letters from Golconda announce several changes which have taken place in the court. The minister Mādanna is putting his creatures in the chief offices, in order to

12. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

13. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38. Further down Martin says Abul Hasan was 'devoid of all resolution or any spirit of government,' that he was 'unworthy by his conduct of the title of King.'

14. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 91.

15. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38.

16. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

be the absolute master of affairs."[17] The administrative revolution was, perhaps, not proceeding as quickly as Mādanna desired it, because, again in April 1677, Martin writes that "disgusted to see that there were still so many Pathan, Persian, and Deccani grandees in the state in receipt of large salaries, Mādanna had resorted to various expedients to compel them to relinquish their charges, even to the extent of causing their salaries to be reduced."[18]

IV.

It seems probable that the administrative changes we have just noted, were but the necessary preliminaries, in Mādanna's mind, to the realisation of his main objects, which were foreign and diplomatic. We are in a position to get a glimpse of these larger designs in the mind of the minister from the facts Martin chronicles and the motives he ascribes to Mādanna, in what was certainly one of the most important events of his foreign policy, namely, his co-operation with Shivaji in the conquest of the Carnatic. Fortunately for the interest which the French at Pondichéry had in this event, we have a very full account of Shivaji's expedition to the Carnatic, from Martin's pen.[19]

The assassination of Cavesh (Khavas) Khan, the Bijapur regent, by his rival Bhulol Khan in December 1675 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil strife between the Deccani and Pathan factions which distracted the Bijapur capital. From the capital, the war extended into the provinces. In the Carnatic, Shere Khan Lodi, the Bijapur governor of Vāligoṇḍapuram, and champion of the Pathan faction made war on Nazir Mahomed, ruler of Gingi, and partisan of the Deccani faction. Owing to his superior resources and the military help which Martin gave him Shere Khan was able to get the better of his adversary, and wrest most of his possessions from him. Worsted in the conflict, and, "animated with bitter hatred of the Pathan party," Nazir Mahomed, in May 1676, sought the protection of the king of Golconda. He agreed to place Gingi into the hands of Abul Hasan, and, in return to hold certain lands in gift from the king of Golconda.

17. Chap. XII. p. 38.
18. Chap. XIV. p. 130.
19. Martin: Chap. XII. pp. 36-107.

Mādanna who completely had the ear of his royal master, and could turn and twist him to his own wishes, now suggested to Abul Hasan that Nazir Mahomed's request offered an excellent chance for the king of Golconda, not only to gain possession of Gingi, but of Madura, Tanjore and other parts as well, and thus make himself virtual master of the Carnatic. At the same time, however, he pointed out that it would never do for Golconda to send a large army into the Carnatic, for the declared purpose of conquering it, without rousing the opposition of the Mughal. The best course, in the circumstances, he suggested would be to depute Shivaji to make the conquest. The Mahratta chieftain, he assured Abul Hasan, would gladly undertake the mission, were he provided with the necessary help in artillery and funds. Once he had conquered the Carnatic, Shivaji would retain certain parts of it which he claimed as his ancestral patrimony, and hand over all the rest to Golconda. Needless to say, Abul Hasan fell in entirely with Mādanna's plan.

Shivaji was now sent for (March 1677), and if there were any lingering doubts in Abul Hasan's mind, they were entirely removed by the magic of Shivaji's personality. At the interview which took place between Abul Hasan and the Mahratta chief, Mādanna's plan was formally endorsed, the military and financial contribution which Golconda would make towards the enterprise settled, and orders dispatched to all the Golconda officers in the Carnatic that Shivaji was acting on behalf of the king of Golconda and should receive all co-operation.

In April 1677 Shivaji descended into the Carnatic by the Damalchervu pass. In June he took delivery of Gingi from Nazir Mahomed. In July he defeated Shere Khan Lodi at the battle of Trivadi, and by September, he was on his way back to his own kingdom after having placed the Carnatic in the hands of his lieutenants. Long before this time, however, he had made it clear that he was not acting as a deputy of Abul Hasan's, but as a principal. In the original pact between Nazir Mahomed and Golconda it had been agreed that when Gingi was surrendered to the Golconda officers, Nazir Mahomed would be compensated with other jagirs in the Golconda kingdom. When Gingi was surrendered to Shivaji in June, the Golconda officers naturally asked that they should be placed in possession of the fortress, but Shivaji's officers bluntly refused to surrender it. "This refusal," says

Martin, "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him. It made him realise that Shivaji and Mādanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests."

Deception there certainly was, and of a methodical and deliberate kind. Mādanna's meeting with Shivaji at Golconda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Mahratta chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence[20] that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675. Since that time continuous negotiations had been in progress between his emissary Raghunath Narain, and Mādanna. Mādanna had already fully made up his mind to subsidize Shivaji with Golconda money, to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only the pretext for letting Shivaji loose into the Carnatic was wanting, and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mohomed. When Shivaji finally set out on his mission as Golconda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied, nobody knew better than Mādanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give him. As Martin observes, Mādanna "knew Shivaji too well not to realize that he would never keep the promise that he had made." The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chesnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain.

The deception, however, once proved, only makes us wonder why it was practised, and what were the ultimate ends of all this tortuous diplomacy. The first point, is, of course, easily settled. If Abul Hasan could never be expected to see eye to eye with Mādanna's ultimate views, it was necessary to practise deception on him and place before him the bait of fictitious advantages he would never actually reap. But deception was only the means to a definite end. What was the end in view which justified the employment of such means? We shall let Martin answer the question: "Mādanna's views," says he, "were to place this part

20. 'Anagi Pent . . . m'avoua avec beaucoup de franchise que si le Mogol continuait lá guerre du côté de Laör . . . que Sivagy porterait ses armes de ce côté lá . . . et pour avoir moins de difficulté á l'entreprise il avait envoyé un ambassadeur á la Cour de Golconde'. Baron á De la Haye. AC. C²63. 316-7.

of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus, and, by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector."

V.

We have reached the year 1677 which is, in several respects, the year of the fullest maturity of Mādanna's diplomatic system. Everything that the system stood for—absolute rule at home, a brahmin administration, the restoration of Hindu rule in the Carnatic, a firm alliance with Shivaji as the chief plank of national defence—all these had, by the year 1677, become concrete accomplished facts giving expression to his aims and definitely influencing the history of the Deccan. The future had nothing new to add to these products of Mādanna's diplomatic mind. On the contrary, the future was only to bring in the reaction against the system. Hereafter Martin's scanty entries only serve to show the decline and fall of the system Mādanna had reared up, under the undermining influences of the system itself and other forces set in motion by a greater diplomat than Mādanna—the Emperor Aurangzeb.

This year, then, serves as a very convenient point at which to take stock of Mādanna's diplomatic achievements, and, in the light of the evidence the French accounts place before us, to assign to him his proper position in 17th century history as a diplomat, statesman, and administrator.

Mādanna doubtless favoured the existence in Central and Southern India of a community of Hindu and semi-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever pressing encroachment of Mogul India from the North and West. Nothing short of such a theory can statisfy the facts of Mādanna's rule since his accession to power in 1674. He had imposed himself and a brahmin bureaucracy on the Golconda state, one of the clauses of the Treaty of Kulburga stipulated that his brother Akkanna should be wazir of the Bijapur state,[21] he had helped to establish Hindu rule in the Carnatic, and finally he had secured the firm alliance of Shivaji. What other supposition can these facts warrant than that Mādanna sought to consolidate Hindu rule in Central India, and use it as a defensive weapon against the constant menace of Mahomedan India from the North? These doubtless were the "Vast designs" which Martin

21. Sarcar: History of Aurangzib. p. 150.

is always hinting at in his comments on Mādanna's policy in the memoirs.

If this is a correct expression of Mādanna's aims, the strongest point of the system was undoubtedly his alliance with Shivaji, and the weakest his attempt to fasten an alien administration on the Golconda state. The first proves Mādanna's claim to be considered a clever diplomat, the second repudiates his claim to be considered a statesman. The alliance with Shivaji was, in fact, Mādanna's greatest diplomatic achievement. It was the only effective weapon practicable at the time against Mogul agression, and it was permanent and beneficial as a scheme of national defence. Though momentarily threatened in 1678[22] it lasted as long as Shivaji lasted and was renewed with his successor Sambaji. From the national point of view it served its purpose well. We have Martin's evidence[23] that Shivaji's diversion in 1679, to relieve the pressure of Dilir Khan's attack on Bijapur was largely subsidized if not actively instigated by Golconda, and only the weakness of Sambaji prevented the alliance from becoming an offensive weapon to combat Aurangzeb's invasion in 1684[24]. On the other hand, however, the greatest weakness of Mādanna's system was the brahmanical tinge which he gave it, and his attempt to fasten an alien Brahmin administration on the Golconda state. This change dictated by narrow religious interest was doubly a mistake. As Martin points out[25] the disturbance of hereditary vested interests which the change involved, created a vast army of malcontents who became the declared enemies of the state, and by taking refuge in the Mogul court, hastened the revolution which brought about the ruin of the Golconda state. On the other hand, the change was itself a bad one. By removing the older Mahomedan administration to replace it by a rapacious Brahmin oligarchy Mādanna was doing nothing to earn the gratitude of the people, and win their support to his rule. The pernicious effects of Brahmin extortion and their bad government are plainly visible in these eloquent entries of Martin made during his passage through the Golconda kingdom in 1677. Mangālgiri "a big town—of great importance formerly on account of its weavers and painters was now in ruins owing to the deplorable administration of the Brahmins." Vālāby "important formerly because of the manufacture of chittes, and a town where there were more than 2,000 painters

22. Martin: Memoirs. p. 126. Also Sarcar: History p. 221.
23. and 24. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XVI.
25. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 20 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.

had now no more than 20 in it." At Anteguir "the inhabitants were in the last state of misery and dared not even eat betel leaves lest they might make it known, thereby, that they had something over and above what was absolutely necessary for life, and thus provoke the extortions of the Brahmins." The only improvement which Martin saw was that between Masulipatam and Golconda "there had been put up, at intervals of four leagues, big buildings of the shape of granaries, by order of the minister Mādanna where they cooked rice every day." But this charity was only given to the Brahmins. "They would not give so much as a drop of water by way of alms to any other persons be they Christians, Mahomedans, or even Hindus of any other caste than Brahmins." Is it any wonder that, in these circumstances, the minister should have died, as Sarcar puts it "undefended, unavenged, and unhonoured"?[23]

VI.

It only remains, now, to rapidly sum up the march of events which led to the final act in the drama, and brought about the fall of the Brahmin minister. In the war of diplomatic wits which preceded the ruin of the Deccan sultanates, Aurangzeb had every thing to gain by a waiting game. Time was on the side of the Mogul Emperor. Of the three adversaries pitted against him, death removed the most powerful in 1680.[27] Thereafter all that Aurangzeb had to do was to wait patiently until the two Pathan states of the Deccan should give him a suitable pretext to invade and destroy them.

In the meanwhile, however, he employed all the resources of his malignant diplomacy to foster dissensions among them, through the Mogul residents at the Pathan courts, and, in the case of Golconda, at least, to goad Abul Hasan to the point of resistance, by his endless exactions. Martin records the slow process of this financial exhaustion of the Golconda state. Already in 1679, Dilir Khan's demands for money had compelled Abul Hasan to melt down his silver and gold vessels, and sell some of the royal jewellery[28] and now, in 1684, Martin records that "the Mogul who has his own views in mind was weakening the Golconda state every

26. Chap. XVIII. pp. 240, 244, 245-6.

27. Shivaji's death is stated by Martin to have taken place on April 17, 1680.

28. Martin's Memoirs: p. 142.

day. He was draining it every year of large sums of money under the name of tribute. Hearing that this poor prince had a diamond weighing 420 carats he ordered his ambassador at the Court to ask for it. The government was so spiritless that Abul Hasan dared not refuse, and the diamond was sent to the Mogul."[29]

At length in 1682, it was clear that the day of reckoning of the Deccan states was fast approaching. The flight to the court of Sambaji of Aurangzeb's revolted son Akbar, drew the Emperor, in that year, towards the South. But two years later Aurangzeb abandoned the project of subduing the possessions of Sambaji and concentrated all his attention on the preliminary destruction of the Deccan Sultanates. In March 1685 he laid siege to Bijapur. The three Deccan states were like the bulls in the story. So long as they stood together they had some chance to prevail against the Mogul lion, when isolated from each other, they were sure to fall. This essential condition of their existence was evident to Mādanna, for, directly Bijapur was beseiged Golconda prepared to assist its sister state.[30]

Sarcar declares[31] that Aurangzeb's interception of a treacherous letter from Abul Hasan to Sikandar caused the breach of diplomatic relations between Golconda and the Mogul. Martin, on the other hand, affirms[32] that Abul Hasan took the initiative in the diplomatic rupture by ordering the Mogul ambassador's residence to be plundered of the 12 lacs of rupees which had just been paid in as tribute. However this may be, war was declared between Aurangzeb and the Golconda state, and, in July 1685 Sultan Shah Alam was detached from the main army encamped before Bijapur, to attack Hyderabad. For the details of what followed, Martin's description is perhaps the best. "The Golconda army, under the command of Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim encamped on the frontiers of the Kingdom to oppose the advance of the Mogul army under Shah Alam. Owing to cowardice or treachery,—most probably the latter—Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim suddenly raised their camp and retired. They were pursued by Shah Alam who forced them to seek shelter under the cannon of the fortress of Golconda where Abul Hasan had already retired on receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach. In the meanwhile the Mogul

29. Martin's Memoirs: p. 361.
30. Sarcar: History. p. 341-42.
31. History: p. 314.
32. Martin's Memoirs: p. 403.

army, without encountering the least opposition, entered Hyderabad, the capital of the Kingdom, and one of the richest cities in India. The retreat of the Golconda troops before the Mogul army seemed all the more surprising that till then the Golconda forces had always had the better of the Mogul army."

Mahomed Ibrahim who was encamped outside the fort walls was now ordered to come and see the King. At the gates of the fortress, however, he was told, rightly or wrongly we do not know, that his going into the fort would do him no good, as he was sure of leaving his head behind. He forthwith turned round his horse, and rode away to Hyderabad where he threw himself on the protection of Shah Alam, who received him with great joy.

The defection of a man of Ibrahim's importance alarmed the Golconda court. It is said that when he rode away Mahomed Ibrahim caused a report to reach the ears of Abul Hasan that his minister Mādanna was betraying him. The news was communicated to Abul Hasan while he was conversing with Mādanna on the state of his affairs. The King promptly asked Mādanna what he had to say. Mādanna replied that if the King permitted him to leave the fortress, he would undertake to deliver the real traitor into his hands—meaning Mahomed Ibrahim. The King without saying a word withdrew into the ladies apartments, where one of the foremost ladies of the court was heard to say that Mādanna was a traitor, and that he only wanted to leave the fort to set afoot the conspiracy he had been hatching, and that he ought to be killed at once.

We do not know whether Abul Hasan gave this order through the lady, but a negro slave of the late King who was standing by Mādanna's side, without waiting to be told again, fell on the minister and killed him with several strokes of his sabre. Then, followed by several other slaves, he went to the house of Akkanna brother of the Minister, who suffered the same fate as well as all the other brahmins who were in the fort. The bodies of Akkanna and Mādanna were then dragged through the streets, and afterwards tied by the feet outside the fort walls so that the army should see them. Their heads were then cut off, and sent to Sultan Shah Alam, and from there they were carried before the Mogul who ordered them to be trampled under the feet of elephants."[33]

33. Martin's Memoirs: p. 417-419.

George Gray's embassy to Hyder Ali

By

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.,

Historical Museum, Satara.

By the Treaty of Madras concluded between Hyder and the British on the 3rd of April 1769 which put an end to the First Mysore War, it was stipulated that, in case of attack, the contracting parties would assist each other with troops. When however the Marathas invaded the territories of Hyder in 1771, and when Hyder claimed the benefit of the article of the treaty of 1769 and asked for British aid, the Government of Madras did not help him in any way. Hyder was naturally greatly displeased with them. When war was declared between England and France in 1778, the French settlements in India were promptly attacked by the English. Pondicherry fell after a gallant resistance. The important French port Mahe on the Malabar coast was taken by Col. Braithwaite on the 19th of March 1779, notwithstanding all the protests of Hyder. This greatly annoyed Hyder; to him Mahe was a very useful port through which he obtained military stores from the Mauritius. It was included in the territory recently conquered by him.

Just at the time the relations between the Nizam and the English became estranged. Basalat Jung, the brother of the Nizam offered to rent the Guntur Circars to the English to save himself from the encroachments of Hyder, and a treaty with him was concluded in April 1779, without the knowledge of the Nizam whose subject Basalat Jung was. The Nizam consequently resolved to take the field against the English. For this purpose he tried to win over the Peshwa, the Bhonsle of Nagpur and even Hyder to his side and formed a confederacy to root out the English.

The Marathas had reason to be more hostile to the English. The Bombay Government supported Raghunath Rao who aspired to be the Peshwa by removing the young Peshwa Madhav Rao II, and the first Maratha War was going on between the two powers.

The Marathas had begun to show sympathies towards the French, the enemies of the English and on May 13, 1778, Nana Phadnavis delivered a paper to St. Lubin an ambassador from France and sought the assistance of the French to punish a nation who had raised an insolent head and whose measure of injustice was full.[1] [The Marathas had also concluded a treaty of peace with the Portuguese on the 17th December 1779 in accordance with which the fleets of the respective parties were not to attack one another at sea, but to provide each other with any necessaries they might require and both the parties bound themselves not to help each other's enemies. (The Portuguese in India by F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 438.) They had also won over to their side the Sidi of Janjira against the English though he was always an ally of the English, and their enemy.] In the war between the Marathas and the English the latter were defeated, and had to sign the Treaty of Wargaon in 1779. As this treaty was dishonourable to the English, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, repudiated it. A continuation of the war with the English seemed inevitable, and the Peshwa and other Maratha nobles thought it prudent to stop their enmities against Hyder and were but too glad to accept the Nizam's request for help against the English.

The Bhonsle of Nagpur who was almost ousted from Bengal and Orissa by the English was but too glad to join the confederacy against the English and see that they were severely punished, as may be seen from one[2] of Mudhoji Bhonsle's letters to Nana Phadnavis, though of a later date, viz., 13-11-1780, in which he says—the English must be overwhelmed on all sides. Unless they are once severely punished no power would remain in peace. Even the Emperor of Delhi and his minister Nazafkhan wished very much that the English should be crushed.

It was agreed among the confederates that the Bhonsle should attack the English in Bengal, the Nizam and Hyder should attack them in the south, and the Peshwa with the help of the Scindia and Holkar should attack them on the western coast.

The corrupt and inefficient Government of Madras was very slow to perceive these developments which aimed a fatal blow to the English power in India. [Thornton observes that the moral

1. Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III, p. 65.
2. Unpublished—in the Satara Museum.

atmosphere of Madras was pestilential, corruption revelled unrestrained. It is not wonderful that where public spirit and public decency were alike extinct the Government should be neither wise nor strong. (V. Smith's Oxford History of India, p. 541.)] The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay pursued their affairs independently of each other. Although the Regulating Act of 1773 gave Bengal controlling authority over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, it took some years to properly exercise the controlling authority. Both Madras and Bombay acted at times on their own responsibility without the sanction of, or even reference to, the Supreme Government. The treaty of Wargaon concluded by the Bombay Government with the Marathas in 1779, and the treaty concluded by the Madras Government with Basalat Jung detrimental to the interests of the latter's master the Nizam, offer good illustrations.[3]

In the meanwhile Sir Thomas Rumbold the Governor of Madras, with the double policy of softening the anger of Hyder and of ascertaining his real attitude towards the English sent Schwartz, a Danish missionary working at Tanjore with a letter from himself to Haider. Schwartz accordingly started on his journey, and on the 6th of July 1779 reached Caroor, the frontier fort of Mysore, forty miles west of Trichinopoly. Here he was detained a month waiting for Hyder's answer. On the 6th of August he resumed his journey and on the 25th he arrived at Seringapatam. Hyder Ali was struck with the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of the missionary, and he held frequent intercourse with him. His first interview with Hyder is thus described and can be read with interest along with Gray's interview with Hyder described in this article.

When I came to Hyder he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly and with seeming pleasure to all I had to say; he spoke very openly and without reserve and said that the Europeans had broken their solemn promises and engagement, but that nevertheless he was willing to live in peace with them. At his last interview with Hyder, Schwartz thus explained the motives of his journey.

3. The Central Authority in British India by A. P. Dasgupta, p. 66.

["You may perhaps wonder what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacredotal functions. But as I was plainly told that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace, and having witnessed more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war, I thought within my own mind how happy I should deem myelf, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments, and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This I considered as a commission in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace."]

Hyder answered with great cordiality,

["Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."[4]]

Schwartz returned from his mission in October 1779.

Although Schwartz was treated with due honour by Hyder, the mission produced no good to the Madras Government. Hyder continued to be hostile to the English, and even kept in prison at Calicut some English subjects as the following extract from Military Consultations,[5] 1780, bears witness.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS, 1780.

The President delivers the following Minute:—

I am to inform the Committee, that I have received a letter from Mr. J Hare dated at Calicut 29th of November in behalf of himself and others with him, who have been made Prisoners by the Officer of Hyder Ally Cawn. The ship they came in from Suez has been obtained, and all their papers and effects plundered. They have addressed the Officer Commanding in those districts for the Nabob Hyder Ally a copy of which address I now lay before the Committee to which they received for answer—That some difference had arisen between the Nabobs and our powers and that in order to adjust them some Gentlemen from Madras were arrived at His Highness's Court, and to these Gentlemen he promised to forward short state of their case.

4. History of India by Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 476.

5. I express my sincere thanks to the keeper of the Records of the Government of Madras for supplying me copies of all the Extracts from military consultations published in this article.

As Mr. Hare and those with him are suffering much from the ill treatment they have, and are likely to experience, I think it absolutely necessary that a person should be immediately sent to the Nabob Hyder Ally to demand the release of those Gentlemen and Family's and to Complain of the Outrage Committed on their persons, and property, at the same time to assure Hyder Ally, if he will explain to us any just cause of complaint in his side against the subjects of the British Nation, we will endeavour to remove it and as it appears from the Letters from Colonel Brathwaite that the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have improperly given protection to some of the Officers or Chiefs, of the Nairs dependent in the Government Hyder Ally, that we do assure him such interference has been without the knowledge or approbation of this Government, as the Officer Commanding the troops sent from hence had the strictest Injunctions not to assist or give protection to any of the disaffected chiefs at that district and that if the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have acted so contrary to the intentions of the Companys Government, that we shall endeavour to have a proper enquiry made and try to remove all Cause of jealousy and uneasiness between him and the company, and that we expect the same friendly conduct in his part.

To His Excellency Sirdar Khan General in the service of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan Commandant and Governor General of the Kingdom at Calicut.

The Memorial of John Hare on behalf of himself and 8 other subjects of the King of Great Britain.

Your Memorialist begs leave in the first place to remind your Excellency that the Humanity and Policy of enlightened ages, have suggested certain rules of universal conduct under the denomination of the Laws of Nations. That the progress of civilisation has tempered and refined these Laws, so that a minute attention to the forms in some measure the perfection of National Character.

Your Memorialist is a subject of the King of Great Britain and having occasion to depart from England by the shortest route to the British Settlements in the East Indies, he arrived at Suez on the 30th day of August last, and found at that Port the Nathalia a Danish ship in readiness to depart for Calicut, he did not hesitate to embark on board that ship and with other English subjects arrived here on the 5th day November Instant.

Your Memorialist and his Countrymen being apprized of that wisdom honour and magnanimity which celebrate the name of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan throughout Europe and the whole world, and being satisfied likewise that your Excellency's Renown is derived from the same virtues they would admit no apprehension in this or any other quarter of his Highness Dominions of their personal safety or freedom—But they have experienced the sad reverse of their expectations.

In a season of public peace and alliance between the powers of the Nabob and Great Britain, nine English subjects have been seized by an armed force and their persons confined without the necessaries of life separated from their property the whole of it has been violently plundered, and

such parts of it as remained undamaged and rendered useless by the Salt Water.

Their imprisonment besides being in the first instance unjust and contrary to the Laws of nations is aggravated by circumstances of peculiar and wanton cruelty. The indecent noise and Insolence of the numerous force which constitute their guard, molest equally their peace by day and their rest by night, their situation is moreover destitute of every domestic convenience and Consolation and the whole of their Money has been taken from their chests and publicly confiscated, your Excellency allows them no other supply than 2 Rupees per day to support 8 persons and their servants.

The value only of your Memorialists property which has been forcibly seized, plundered, damaged, and detained, amounts to 6,000 Rupees.

Your Memorialist proceeding from Europe to India by a shorter route than the Ordinary one was entrusted with many private Letters, and Packets which his friends had requested him to preserve with care and forwards with expedition the nature and practice moreover of his profession of a Councillor at Law (in which Capacity he was authorized to proceed to India) require a great number of manuscript papers, to the compilation of which he has dedicated some years of his Life. All these letters, Packets and papers have been forcibly taken away and obtained, and although their contents are found to be of no Public or Political Import but merely the intercourse of private friendship and the materials of a private profession; Your memorialist is denied a restoration of them, and hears with unexpressible concern that he is to be detained in prison while they are sent to His Highness the Nabob.

Your Memorialist therefore in the names of his unfortunate friends and himself prays your Excellencys attention to this state of their case, and that your Excellency will manifest that humanity and benevolence which are the attributes of your character by ordering their immediate release, the restoration of their property and with all granting a passport for the pursuit of their Expedition. But should that apparent justice be denied them your Memorialist for himself prays that he may not be further separated from those Letters Packets and papers which are the peculiar object of his case, but immediately sent with them, his servant and a proper guard to the Court of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob.

Calicut Nov. 18th 1779. J. HARE.

Resolved that Mr. George Gray be appointed to proceed to Hyder Ally to demand the Release of the English subjects confined by his Officer at Tellicherry and that instructions be prepared for him in the terms of the President's Minute.

JOHN WHITEHILL.
CHARLES SMITH.

According to the resolution of the Madras Council Sir Thomas Rumbold wrote the following letter to Mr. George Gray, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, and asked him to proceed immediately

to Hyder principally to demand the release of the English subjects and to see if Hyder can be brought into a better understanding with the English.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

To Georg Gray.

Sir,

We have thought it proper to appoint you to proceed to Hyder Ally, to demand the release of some English subjects who are detained at Calicut by the order of Sardar Cawn Hyder's officer at that place.

We enclose you a copy of the Memorial which Mr. Hare one of those persons delivered to Sardar Cawn in behalf of himself and the rest of his Majesty's subjects so detained which will explain all the particulars sufficiently to guide you in your representations to Hyder.

You will complain to him of this outrage committed on the Persons and property of so many English subjects. At the same time assure him that as it has been always our desire to preserve a good understanding and friendship with him, if he have any cause of complaint against any of the Company's people or any English subject whatever we shall endeavour as far as lies in our power to remove it, that we have heard by Letters from our Commanding Officer on the Malabar coast that he has some complaint against the Gentlemen at Tellicherry for improper interference with the Chief of the nairs who are under his authority, that we have not the particulars, but as it is totally contrary to our wishes and the orders we gave to our Commanding Officer there, that there should have been any interference whatsoever; so we have represented both to the Governor and Council of Bombay, and to the Gentlemen of Tellicherry the propriety of removing every just cause of uneasiness, that we doubt not to meet with the same conduct on his part as nothing can contribute so much to our mutual interest as a sincere and mutual endeavour to preserve the friendship that has so long subsisted between us.

You must confine your Representations simply to the fact and the sentiments here laid down but should Hyder propose or mention any thing foreign to the subject of this Commission you will transmit the same to us for our Information.

If Hyder Ally refuse or delay to give you satisfaction in regard to the detention of the English subjects at Calicut you will desire his leave to depart and return with all convenient expedition to Madrass.

You will proceed to Vaniambady and wait there for a Passport from Hyder to join him or if the Kellidar of Vaniambady will furnish you with an Escort you may proceed without waiting for the Passport.

We are
Sir,
Your most obedient Humble Servants,
Thomas Rumbold, &c.,
Select Committe.

Fort St. George
14th January 1780,

AT A COMMITTEE PRESENT.

THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART. PREST.

JOHN WHITEHILL SIR HECTOR MUNRO K. B.

CHARLES SMITH.

Minute of the last Committee read and approved.

A Letter of Instructions to Mr. Gray and a Letter to Hyder Ally having been prepared agreably to the Minutes of last Committee are now read and approved and ordered to be copied fair.

According to the instructions of the Governor of Madras on the 20th January 1780 and went to Shrirangpatan on the 17th February. But unlike Schwartz Mr. Gray received a very cold reception from Hyder and although the English prisoners were already liberated by Hyder and the main object of his mission was gained he could not do anything to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English. He could clearly see that Hyder did not care for the friendship of the English and even seemed determined to take hostile actions against them. Hyder gave him leave on the 19th March. Gray left the place on the 20th March and returned to Madras on the 30th.

Mr. Gray had written a full account of his mission to Hyder a copy of which procured by the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis, and now preserved in the Historical Museum, Satara, in the Bombay Presidency, is published below. He narrates in it the difficulties that he met first in getting a passport to go to Hyder's capital and then to get an interview with him, the rough ways in which he was treated by Hyder and his men throughout his stay in the Nabob's capital. The description of Hyder and his court given by Gray is graphic and the picture of Hyder which we see published in books suits his description.

Mr. Gray was in vain waiting at the court of Hyder for securing his sympathies towards the English. He could not know that his own Government had done things to estrange his feelings, and that it was now impossible to win him over to the side. At the very time Gray was trying to get a personal interview with Hyder the latter was engaged in concluding an alliance with the Marathas, and on the 26th Feb., 1780 (20 Safar, Vikāri Saṁvatsara) a treaty was signed between Hyder and the Marathas the latter being represented by Balaji Janardhan, i.e. Nana Phadnavis, Hari

Ballal, Mahdaji Scindia, Anand Rao and Krishnarao Ballal Kale[6], in which it was thus stipulated:

1. That the territory on both the banks of the Tungabhadra conquered by Hyder was to remain with him and he was not to molest Maratha territories.

2. That Hyder should take the offensive against the English and conquer their districts of Chinnapatan, Arcot, Trichinopoly, etc. The Marathas would attack them in Gujarat and the Nizam would do the same in Chicacole and Rajamundri.

3. That if it is necessary 5000 cavalry should be sent to the assistance of the Peshwa.

4. That Raghoba and his assistants should not be entertained.

5. That Rs. 15 lakhs should be remitted to Hyder in the Poona treasury in satisfaction of his tribute to them up to the year 1780 and Rs. 12 lakhs should be paid annually in future.

6. That Tanjore must be made free from English attacks.

7. That the Peshwa and Hyder should divide equally the newly conquered territories.

8. That Hyder should not enter into a treaty with a third power without the knowledge of the Marathas.

9. And that Raste should remain in Hyder's service with 1000 cavalry.

THE JOURNAL OF MR. GEORGE GRAY.

On the 14th January 1780 I was appointed by the Select Committee to proceed to Seeringapatam, on an Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ali Cawn, to demand the release of some English subjects who had been stopped at Calicut by Sirdar Cawn, Hyder's Fouzdar there, but I was particularly instructed by Sir Thomas Rumbold to endeavour to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English, than he had for some time shown, and if possible to gain his confidence; This measure seemed the more necessary in the present juncture of affairs, to prevent his taking any steps against us, that might favour either the French, and encourage

6. G. S. Sardesai's Marathi Riyasat, Uttarbhāg, Vol. I, p. 217.

their invading the Carnatic, or the Mahrattas, with whom we are actually at War; especially as the Finances of the Carnatic are not in condition to support a War, or to maintain armies in the Field. I was therefore desired to use every argument of persuation that the urgency of the situation could suggest. A passport from Hyder had been sent for, and Veenagee Pundit his Vakeel at Madras assured Sir Thomas that one would come for me. Sir Thomas therefore desired that I would proceed with the utmost expedition. My public Instructions were dated the 14th January, but it was the 20th in the evening that I set out from Madras; I arrived on the 24th.

I wrote to the Killadar of Vaniyambady the first town in Hyder's Bounds to acquaint him that I was going to Seeringapatam on public business, and desired he would send an Escort to Conduct me; but the Hircarrahs who carried my letter were stopped by a party of Hyder's Sepoys stationed just within his Borders, purposely to prevent my entering the Country; I found that no Passport had been sent; and the Soubadar of the Bara Maul who has the Command of the District and Town on that Road, informed me by letter that I could not possibly proceed on my journey, till such time as a Passport arrived for me, until when, he advised me to continue at Amboor, and I was forced to follow his advice, I was surprised at this Obstacle, intentionally, thrown in my way when I expected a Passport, it seemed to me no favourable sign for the success of my Embassy. I wrote to Hyder to inform him of my Commission, and to request a Passport, and affixed my seal with the Title of Muttimud Ul Dawlah which I received from the Emperor Shah Allum. I forwarded my Letter to the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul and desired him to send it by the Nabob's Tappals to Seeringapatam which he did.

3rd February. Mr. Hare one of the persons whose enlargement I was desired to sollicit, arrived at Amboor, and the next day the rest arrived. They had been very ill treated at first but latterly Hyder behaved very well to them, and furnished them conveniencies for their journey thro' his Country, although the confinement of those people, was one ostensible cause of my Embassy to Hyder; yet as another object remained that I should proceed, notwithstanding they were set at liberty; whenever Hyder, gave me permission to do it.

5th February. Hyder's Passport arrives with two Hercarrahs to conduct me to Seeringapatam, but the Passport is expressed in very unceremonious terms, and limits my retinue extremely, however I determined to go on with all my People and to see what construction Hyder's Officers put upon it in his own Country.

6th February. I set out from Amboor being saluted with 13 Guns. I halt in the evening at Vaniyambody; next day at Mallipaddy a Fort of Nabob of the Carnatic, where I find the killadar and Aumildar at variance, and try to reconcile them; The day after I stay at Kishnagery; and the following day I arrive at the Pass of Royacotta, where the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul is for the present, I receive a letter from Hyder sealed with his small seal Futteh Hyder, in answer to the one I wrote to him. Here I meet with an Instance of intended slight—Hyder's Letter deprives me of my Title, and is written in disrespectful terms. He repeats in his Letter the Extent of my Passport which by limiting me to one Palankeen prevents my being accompanied by any Person in the Character of a Gentleman, or even by a servant of the country of any consequence. All my sepoys and most of my Hercarrahs are stopped, and I am hindered from appearing with the Retinue which is proper for the Rank I bear, the rest of my People and Baggage are allowed to proceed. The Saubahdar not daring to visit me himself has sent his Munshy to me, who makes an apology for his Master, which shews that he is conscious of a failure in Civility, not voluntary, but enjoined him.

10th February. Left Rayacottah and halt successively at Tillamunglum, Tilta Chuncanally, Holgur Ikera, and Arkurra; Hyder's Hercarrahs here inform me that it is their Master's orders that I shall wait at this place till he is informed of my arrival. I therefore write to him. Next day two more Hercarrahs arrive with Hyder's answer in which he writes me, that on account of the popularity of Seeringapatam, there is no room for me within the Walls, but he has fitted up for me a Munduff by the River side where he desires me to go next morning.

14th February. I set out from Arkurra and arrive in two hours at the Munduff. My Habitation is an old ruinous stone Choultry about two miles from Seeringapatam, and on the opposite side of the River from the Fort, Suburbs, and Markets. It stands at a distance from any Houses, on a bare Plain. One

part of the Munduff is filled with Ropes and Yokes for drawing heavy artillery, over which there is a Guard of Sepoys, who have Centinels on this common Gate, who I find will also be Centinels over me, and my People; The other part is alloted to me and my attendants. It is fortunate for me I have a good tent, otherwise I should be very badly lodged. Not long after my arrival a Choubdar came on Horseback who without ceremony squatted himself beside me, and asked a great many Questions; He seems rather to have been sent to make what observations he could about me, than to shew me Civility. I ordered one of my Choubdars to go to the Nabob with my compliments; to enquire after his health, and to tell him that by God's Grace and his Favor I was safely arrived. But my Choubdar was not permitted to stir out of the Munduff. I find there are Hircarrahs posted at the Gates and all around, who will not suffer my People to go to the Buzar without an attendant, nor permit any person to come to the Munduff without the Nabob's special leave—and no person of any distinction at the Nabob's Court, or in the Character of a Gentleman, has come to receive me, or to welcome my arrival at Seeringapatam; nor has the present of Provisions usual upon such occasions been sent but I am left to provide for myself, and People, as well as I can under the restraints I have already mentioned.

18th February. The Choubdar who came yesterday returned this afternoon, to acquaint me that the Nabob expected me in the Evening, and he was to conduct me to the Durbar. I desired him to let me know the precise time proper for me to set out; which by his Information was about half past Six o'Clock, In about an hour I arrived at the Palace where I was conducted thro' a Gate to an open veranda crowded with Peons, Sepoys, Hircarrahs, and all sort of Rabble. There I was stared at and made an object of Curiosity to all that passed; One man of apparent consequence asked my Dubash what was my name. I ordered him to reply that the Nabob knew it. I was detained in this Place near two hours, when ashamed of my situation, and impatient at the Indignity put upon me, I ordered one of the Nabob's Hircarrahs that attended me, to go, and tell that if the Nabob was not at leisure then to receive my visit, I would go and come another time. Soon after this I was sent for and conducted to the Dewanchanna (—Khana) where the Nabob was. I was introduced by Abu Mahomed Master of Ceremonies and paid my respects by taking off my Hat and bowing but the Choubdars called out as when the lowest of his dependents made their Tusseliment whilst I bowed, and

Hyder made no other return than a bare, and silent Salam with his hand to his Turband. Hyder was seated not by the Wall, but about the middle of the Divanchuna (Diwankhana) between two Pillars, and a Crimson Velvet Musnud, edged with Gold Lace; a Sword and Shield by his side, One Chidmutgar behind him with a Gold Moorcha; he was dressed in a short Jama open on the left side; his sleaves were tucked up to shew a pair of Diamond Bracelets, and he had a large Diamond Ring on his Finger. There was a good many people seated in the Durbar, but I saw none of Dignity or even of good appearance. The Jamadars had Cattaries, and I wore my sword. I was conducted round and seated on the Carpet on Hyder's right Hand, close by the Wall, at about the distance of 20 feet from him. After I was seated I waited a few moments to see whether the Nabob chose to speak to me, but he shewing no Inclination to do so, I informed the Nabob that Sir Thomas Rumbold gave his compliments and sent Letters which I delivered. They were immediately read by the Munshies. I mentioned that Sir Thomas had sent a Saddle and Gun which were delivered into the hands of the Nabob's People, The Nabob enquired after Sir Thomas Rumbold's Health—A Letter was delivered me which came by the Nawab's Tappal. as I knew it was from the Governor and might be of immediate concern I opened it, and told the Nabob that Sir Thomas in that Letter desired me to present his compliments, and to inform his Excellency, that he wished to know what kind of European productions would be agreeable to his Excellency, that he might send them. Hyder replied, that he had about 600 Coss of Sia Coast from near Goa to below Calicut, where ships of all nations resorted and that he had ships of his own; by which means he was amply supplied with every thing he wanted, On this occasion the People of the Durbar launched out in praise of the Nabob's great Possessions, the Trade of his country, the number and strength of his Forts, The quantity of his Cannon and Arms. The Nabob himself mentioned the great Expences his Forts cost him, on which I joined in the general Subject of praise; I said that Europe resounded with the fame of his Wealth, his Power, his Wisdom and the glory of his warlike atchievements; that I esteemed myself very fortunate, and happy, that I had an opportunity of Seeing a Warrior I had so often heard of, Hyder seemed greatly pleased with the compliment. The Saddle and Gun having been brought forth, I told the Nabob that the Gun was of an uncommon construction, and required particular management, he looked a little at it, and said he would send

a Man in the morning to learn the Way of managing it. I waited to see if any opportunity offered of talking on Business; but the Nabob took no further notice of the letters; and as he did not himself propose the subject of my Embassy it was a sign he did not choose to enter upon it.— I saw that my Reception was in State, from which he did not choose to relax, either because it was my first visit, or from other motives; and the style of conservation of the Durbar seemed calculated purposely to give me a great idea of the Nabob; I therefore determined to postpone entering upon Business, till my next meeting which I resolved to ask for next morning when the Person came about the Gun— It was now late; the Nabob gave me leave to depart; and Bettle and Other being brought, I took my leave.—

19th February. Mahomed Osman a confidential Servant of the Nabob's, who has been at Madrass, has to my surprize brought both Gun and Saddle; and says that the Nabob desires I will think nothing of his sending them back, as the Saddle is not of the Hindostan Form and therefore of no use to him, and because the Gun is liable to be put out of order, and the workmen of this country do not know how to repair it; and besides they say that it is not so good as a Gun which is loaded at the Muzzle. The Nabob desires that altho' the present is returned, I should not think that his regard is diminished; I replied that he is the Master; I know such trifles to be of no consequence; that what was agreeable to him was the principal object I attended to, I desired that it might be delivered; I laid very little stress on ceremonials, I said I had seen the Courts of Princes, both in Europe and in India; that I knew something of the forms of the Durbars of Hindostan, where I had some pretensions to Rank from the King himself; that altho' I was very sensible when there was any Deviation from the usual customs or Rules; yet I was not at all affected by it, that I came to do Business, not to stand on Punctilios. I particularly desired Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob, I wished to have a private audience to communicate the Subject of my Embassy; that the season for sending our ships to Europe, and writing the Dispatches was at hand and I wished to see the Nabob as soon as possible to have time to inform the company in Europe by the ships of this season, of the result of my conference. Mahomed Osman promised to deliver my message, and took his leave— soon after a present of sheep and Rice, and other Provisions came to me from the Nabob.

The return of the present, is not to be explained away by any apologies whatever, and joined with the other parts of the Nabob's Behaviour, shews no friendly disposition towards us. He has from the beginning shewn an unwillingness to admit me; and altho' in a manner forced, by Sir Thomas Rumbold's Importunity, to receive me at last; he has done it in a manner that brings no honor to the English, and that marks no consent, nor Inclination towards friendship, nor concession of any kind on his Part. It is indeed reported that he has entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas, and is preparing to second their views by attacking the Carnatic. It is said that he is assembling a considerable army at Bengalore, where he has sent 15 or 20 pieces of Battering cannon, and a great many field Pieces; Troops are also said to be collecting at Carour. The old claim on the City of Trichinopoly which was promised to the King of Mysore, near 30 years ago, is said to afford a pretence for the Invasion, and it is to open with the attack of that Place.—Whatever Hyder's views may be, it is certain his Deportment towards me, is disrespectful, and unfriendly hitherto; but perhaps that may alter. I find Monsr. Lally, who was in the service of Bazalet Jung, and afterwards of Nizam Ally, is now come here, with some Europeans and Sepoys; and there are Mahratta vackeels here.

20th February. Although I spoke to Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob I wanted a private audience, yet not trusting to that, I think it necessary to demand one by Letter; and accordingly I write to him and send my Letter by a Choubdar but it is returned, the Nabob being retired to his Zenana.

21st. Sent my Letter again and the Nabob desires that I should come in the Evening. I set out by direction after sun set and was conducted to a better apartment, than on my first visit, Here I found several Jamadars, and others sitting without their Cattaries, it being the usual Custom of Hydar's Durbar to be unarmed. After some time two Choubdars came and called out several People by Name to go to the Presence, and they were told to take their Catteries. When I had sat above an hour I was called and conducted to the same Dewanchanna as at first I take notice that the Nabob did not speak to me on my Entrance. In about half an hour Mahomed Osman came and asked me from the Nabob whether I chose to confer in a public or private audience; I replied in a private one. He said in that case you must go into another

apartment, where a Person in the Nabob's confidence will accompany you, and when he has heard what you have to say, he will inform the Nabob of it, and carry you an answer; I said that I wished to speak personally with the Nabob; he said it was not the Nabob's Custom to do so, and the way he had mentioned was the only audience I could get; with which I was obliged to comply. I went into another apartment, and was followed by an orderly man, named Mahomed Gheas, and by Mahomed Osman—When seated they asked me what was the purport of my Embassy; I said I had delivered two Letters from the Governor of Madras, one on the Business of the English subjects, who had been detained at Calicut, whose dismission I was directed to demand, when that Letter was written, and when I left Madras it was not known that the Nabob intended of himself to set them at liberty; that I had met them on the road and learned from themselves the Nabob's Kindness, in sending for them to his Presence, and in providing them with necessaries and conveniencies for their journey; for which I returned him thanks. I assured the Nabob that if any English subjects had behaved in such a manner as to give his officers just cause to complain, or to detain them; it was without the knowledge of the Company's Presidencies, against their Inclinations and against positive orders and I hoped nothing of the kind would happen again in future. The second Letter, I said, informed the Nabob, that I was commissioned to confer with him on the Interests of the two Nations, in consequence of my Instructions, I now expressed in the name of Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Council of Madras the high regard, and friendship they entertained for his Excellency; and assured him of the personal Esteem and regard they had for his Character; that they wished to strengthen the alliance now subsisting between him and the English, not only by a renewal of former Engagements, but of entering into a closer Union of Interest. Mahomed Gheas, and Mahomed Osman on this, went to the Nabob, and related what I had said; they returned, and replied. The Nabob says he would have been glad of the friendship of the English but (hia Taida) to what purpose is it" They added the Nabob concluded one Treaty with the English, every article of which he had faithfully adhered to, but the English failed in every point, and the Treaty is absolutely broken. They spoke of the conquest of Tanjore, notwithstanding that Country was guaranteed by the Treaty. They expatiated largely on the having withheld the stipulated assistance when the

Mahrattas invaded and ruined Mysore; by which they said the Circar sustained a Loss of 3 Crores of Pagodas; and that was the only time when we had an opportunity of rendering the Nabob any service, or of shewing how we stood affected towards him. They said there were many other complaints which it was needless to relate. I replied that I was not come to enter into a Discussion of old grievances, which had happened in former Governments, but to propose a remedy against new ones. The Gentlemen who had now the management of affairs differed from their Predecessors, and were sincerely desirous of an effectual junction with the Nabob; that such a junction could not but be of great service to him, by strengthening him with the assistance of our forces, supplying him with military Stores, and by securing his Dominions to himself, and to his family, against all invaders or Enemies whatsoever. On this the Nabob's confidants hinted, that the Nabob stood in no need of assistance or Supplies, for he was strong enough to take care of himself. They said that the Nabob Waulan Jah (Walajah) Bahadur was an Instance of the manner in which the English assisted their friends; who tho' an old friend of the Company's and particularly favored by the King of England himself, yet was obliged to pay immense Sums for their friendship every year. Mahomed Osman said that when he was at Madras the Nabob Waulan Jah had shewn him several honorable Letters from the King of England, and from the Company expressed in terms of the greatest friendship: but that the Nabob complained at the same time, of the Lacks of Pagodas, each of those letters cost him. I replied, the Nabob Bahadur must judge for himself, how far a sincere, and effective Friendship and alliance with the English can be of service to him. As for the Nabob Waulan Jah Bahauder his affairs were so connected with, and interwoven into those of the Company from the long and expensive Wars carried on in the Carnatic, that neither Mahomed Osman, nor any body else who was not a party concerned, could pretend to judge; I was glad however to find that the Nabob Waulan Jah had friends at the Court of Seeringapatam, who interested themselves and were so anxious on his account; but the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn was on a very different footing in point of an expence of that nature— Finding that we now seemed to be sliding into conversation rather than doing Business, I recalled the attention of the Confidants to the principal points of what I had said, by repeating them, and desiring that they might be reported to the Nabob. I desired they would also tell his Excellency from me, that it was not from weak-

ness, or alarm, I had come to make this offer, for the English never were before so strong in India as at this time—We had a fine army in the coast from whence we had driven all our Enemies, our numerous fleet was unopposed; and if any unforeseen event rendered it necessary to have still more Troops in the Carnatic, we had a very considerable army at Bengal, ready to come down on the first notice; but that Sir Thomas Rumbold had sent me from a conviction, that it would be for the mutual Benefit both of the Nabob Bahadur and of the Company to unite their Interests confidentially, and effectually together; that having informed the Nabob of the friendly Disposition of the Government of Madras towards him, I had executed the commission I was charged with, and was now at his Excellency's Disposal, either to return with an answer, or to write to the Governor of Madras an account of what had passed, and wait for fresh Instructions from thence—The confidants went to the Nabob, repeated to him what I had said, and returning, told me the Nabob desired I would write to Madras, and stay till I heard from thence—I mentioned that the Company's Ships going to Europe were to sail very soon, it was therefore necessary to send my Letter by the quickest conveyance, in order to get an answer the sooner, and that whatever conclusion we came to, my Letters to Madras might arrive before their Departure, and enable Sir Thomas to inform the Company of what had passed; I therefore desired my Letters to Sir Thomas might go by the Nabob's Tappals rather than by a Messenger which would occasion a difference of several Days; The confidants replied very well—" I did not choose on this occasion to intimate that Sir Thomas proposed to go home himself, as it was necessary, and would not alter the state of the negociation—after this I returned to the Durbar, where I sat a few minutes, and the Nabob gave me leave to retire.—I was not pleased with the appearance of things in this conference. The Nabob did not choose to talk to me in person, but employed other People; their opening upon me with old complaints that were in fact obsolete; the indifference with which my Advances were received; no advances or even encouragement on their part; One thing however I was glad of. The Nabob's desiring me to stay at Seeringapatam, as that wore the appearance of his not being determined against coming to an Explanation, which I hoped in time to find some opportunity of effecting.—

22nd February.—I wrote to Sir Thomas an account of what passed, and sent my Letter to the Fort to be forwarded by the

Tappal as I desired yesterday, but the Nabob was inaccessible; next day, I sent it again and desired my Chaubdar to ask for Passports for the People I left at Royacottah. The Chaubdar returned with my letter, which was not permitted to go by Tappal; but he brought Passports for Hircarrahs to carry it, and for my People at Royacottah. The refusal to send my letter by the Tappal does not pretend that the Nabob means to enter into an amicable connexion with us, for if he was desirous of it, he would wish that it should be effected as soon as possible, and would therefore promote it; on the contrary, it would seem that he wished to amuse, and to gain time.—

From this time till the 19th, March I had no permission to visit the Nabob notwithstanding my repeated Sollicitations and endeavours to obtain a private confidential audience— From day to day, he used to send by Choubdars presents of Fruit, Flowers, Sweetmeats to so *a*. Yet even this apparent civility was conducted in a manner that discovered more the condescension of a Superior to an Inferior, than of an act of Politeness; for his Choubdars neither delivered a civil message when they came, nor behaved respectfully; but were greedy, insolent, and clamorous— He gave me leave to see his two Gardens without the city, and I went once to each of them; otherwise I never went out of the Choultry.

The Intelligence I received was that very soon after my arrival, express camels were sent to Poonah, with the Regency of which Hyder was executing a Treaty. Before my arrival, preparations for taking the Field had been carried on with great Deligence, and Tippoo Sahib Hyder's eldest Son, was ordered to join the Troops at Bingalore; but that order was afterwards reversed, and since my arrival his Preparations have been greatly relaxed, tho' not quite laid aside, and it is believed, as the season is so far advanced that the army will not take the Field till next year. It is the general report of the Bazar, and camp, that the armament is intended against the Carnatic; some say however that the next campaign will be against Bazalet Jung, others against the Nizam. It is impossible for me situated as I am to get accurate Intelligence because I am surrounded with Spies, and debarred all communication— My opinion however is, that he keeps his Troops in readiness to seize the first opportunity of extending his territories, either on the side of the Carnatic, or of Golcondah as chance may offer. He will not venture to cope with the English in their present Force; but the French People about him have

flattered him with the notion of an armament from the Mauritius; and he perhaps may think that the War in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas will occupy our whole force, and embarrass us; in either of those cases he would not fail to make an Effort; on that account therefore, he probably does not choose to enter into any engagements with us at present; at the same time he will not give us direct umbrage, nor come to an open rupture, till the opportunity offers— His force I understand to consist of about 10,000, Horse of his own Stables, and about 15,000, more Horse of hired Troops, with a number of Plunderers that serve without pay. He is said to have about 25,000 Sepoys with European arms; and Peons Colleries (Kallars), etc. without number; He has a great quantity both of battering and Field artillery; The Europeans in his Service, a mixed Rabble of different nations, may amount to 400, all mounted— Such was the Intelligence I was able to pick up during the interval since my last visit, of which I wrote to Sir Thomas Rumbold what I thought necessary.

17th March.— I received by my own Hircarrahs a Letter from Captain Keating at Amboor dated 9th informing me that he had dispatched a Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold for me to the Killadar of Waniambody, to be forwarded by the Nabob's Tappal— My Hircarrahs have been 9 days on the road, whereas the Tappal arrives in three,— The letter Captain Keating forwarded must therefore have arrived some days ago, and must now be in the Nabob's possession. I ordered my Moonshy to wait upon the Nabob with my compliments and to represent to him that it was a long time since I had the Honor to see him, and that I wished for permission to wait upon him; that I understood a Letter from Madras had been dispatched by his Tappals from Waniambody, and I begged to know if it was yet arrived. My Moonshy went, and the Nabob received him by no means in a good Humour, however he gave him the letter which came by the Tappal, and told him that he intended to call me, to take leave of him, the day after Tomorrow, of this his Intention I had heard indeed a day or two before.—

19th March. The Nabob having sent me notice by one of his Hircarrahs that he expected me in the Evening to take leave, I set out by information of his Hircarrahs as usual, after Sun set, and was conducted to the same outward apartment as on my last visit; where I waited near two hours before I was sent for. In

the Durbar, I was placed at a greater distance, from the Nabob, than before; separate from the other People in his front, so as to be an object of Exhibition to all the Durbar. He did not speak to me, and scarce deigned to look towards me; I determined as he had sent for me for a particular purpose, not to be the first to speak, especially as I was seated so far from him, that I could not address him without being heard by the whole Durbar altho' it was his desire that I should write to Madras an account of the conference I had at my preceding visit, and he could not but suppose that the Letter I had received was an answer to what I wrote; yet he could not condescend to inquire about it, and as he had taken the Resolution of giving me my Dismission, before I received that answer, let it be what it would; I thought it would not only be ineffectual, but degrading to speak concerning it; as every thing concerned me I had no favourable answer to expect, I was resolved not to give him an opportunity of making me an insulting one, in the face of the Durbar.— After I had sat above an hour in silence, some Gold Stuff, a Shaul and 2 Bags of 500 Rupees each, were brought to me with Beetle and Otter; I then said to the Nabob that I was very sensible of his Goodness, favour, and politeness, and should always keep them in remembrance; I also said that if I could be of any use to him at Madras, I hoped he would command my services; to which he replied coldly, very well. A Passport having been made out, and a Letter delivered me for the Governor, I rose up, made my Bow, and went away.

And thus ended my Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, during the course of which I was rather received and treated as a Spy, than as an Embassador, and rather confined, than lodged. He never admitted me to a confidential audience altho' I frequently sollicited it; He never allowed me to enter his city by day light; He kept me at a distance from his person, as if he suspected I had a design upon his life, and he watched me as narrowly as if he thought I was come to pry into his affairs, or to carry on some secret plot with his People— I was by no means sorry to leave so inhospitable a region. I set out the following day, and arrived at Madras in ten days.

On the 31 March 1780 Gray Made the following report to the Governor and delivered to him the following letter which Hyder had sent with him. The latter gives the reason of the failure of Mr. Gray's embassy to Hyder.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART. GOVERNOR AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF FORT, St. GEORGE.

Gentlemen,

Pursuant to your orders of the 14th January I went to Seringapatam where I arrived on the 17th February.

The Nabob Hyder Ally Chan had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose enlargement I was directed to sollicit so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their Journey through his country. When I had done this I took occasion at the same time to express to the Nabob the sentiments of regard and frienship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English Nation in General entertained towards his highness, but I am sorry to say my professions on that subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped for,—they were answered with reproaches of repeated Breaches of faith and the English Nation was taxed with a positive breach of treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's sentiments I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of an explanation but I was completely disappointed; for he never permitted me to visit him again till the 19th March when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of leave and delivered me the accompanying letter for the Governor.

I have to observe that my reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectful, a few instances of politeness were overbalanced by many more of inattention and slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently remarked.

I have the honour to be with respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEORGE GRAY.

31st March, 1780.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY COUNTRY CORRESPONDENCE 1780.

No date: March?

From Hyder Aly Cawn to the Governor.

I have received your letter by Mr. Gray, and understand the contents, as well as the Particulars you had entrusted that Gentleman with. How did you keep to the Engagements you made at the Time that Chunda Cawn and the French laid seige to Trichinopoly. The Governor and Council afterwards entered into a Treaty of Peace with me which amounted to this—They were to regard my Friends as their Friends, and my Enemies as theirs, and were to give me their Assistance when I required it.

I took it for granted that no deviation would happen in the Company's Treaty—The Original is with you to which I refer—When a War subsisted between me, and the Mahrattas, altho' I had no occasion for your Assistance yet in order to try whether you would keep to your Engagements or not, I wrote you repeatedly to assist me with a small Force, agreable to the Treaty but no attention was paid to my Request. You wrote me some time ago, that you were to assist Buzalet Jung; and you accordingly sent your Troops to him who met and had an Engagement with mine.

Besides this your Territories lay continguous to mine, from Dindgull to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country—for instance the Chief of Tellichery gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families in his Factory, assists them with lead, powder and Fire Arms, and comits disorders in my country. He has, and is now at this time laying waste districts, which yield me an annual Revenue of Twenty Lacks of Rupees. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner, what Treaty subsists between you and me? or which of us has violated it? You and the Gentlemen of your Council may look to it. What more?

Bengal Under Jahangir

Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan

By

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The Mughal period is the best studied of the pre-British periods of Indian history. The abundance of contemporary or semi-contemporary chronicles, mostly by officials, makes it easy to study the fortunes of the Mughal rulers of India. It is not to be wondered at however that most of the contemporary chronicles deal with the affairs at the imperial court and as such touch provincial matters only when these affect imperial policy or imperial fortunes. It is rarely that one comes across a contemporary chronicle dealing with the history of a province and still rarer it is to find it written by an official serving in the province at the time when the events described were taking place. In the Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan, who later on became Shatah Khan, we have both these fortunate circumstances in combination. The MS—the only copy extant is in the National Library at Paris—was utilised by Sir Edwor Gait in his history of Assam. But he had access to only a partial summary of the work prepared by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who had already brought this rare MS to the notice of students of history in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in March, 1921. He acquired a rotographed copy of the MS and published a table of contents mostly based on the summaries of the chapters appended thereto by the author himself. Unfortunately these summaries are not reliable, the author not infrequently taking the wish for the deed, and thus mentioning many things in the summaries of the chapters which he probably intended to put therein but ultimately decided otherwise. Mr. S. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., now lecturer in history in the University of Dacca, was introduced to the MS by Sir Jadunath, and used it for his History of the Mughal North-East Frontier Policy. Unfortunately, though he had a rotographed copy of the MS procured for him by the University of Dacca, his use of the MS has not been very accurate or fortunate in some cases at least. Dr. Beni Parshad neglected to use this valuable material in his

History of Jahangir though it had already been brought to the notice of students of history.

By the courtesy of Sir Jadunath I have been able to study this little known work. In the belief that the publication of the original or the translation of this bulky text may not be attempted for sometime yet, I have prepared a summary abstract of this work. No attempt has been made at a literal translation unless absolutely necessary.

Nathan's father was appointed officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats when Islam Khan was appointed governor of Bengal in June, 1608. He had been brought up under the protection of prince Shah Jahan.[1] Nathan accompanied his father to his new charge and remained serving in Bengal till after the defeat and expulsion of Shah Jahan therefrom. He served as a partisan of Shah Jahan when he appeared in Bengal after having been defeated in the Deccan by Mahabat Khan. He lived to see that prince emperor and this history was written in Shah Jahan's reign.[2] He is mentioned in the Assamese Buranji as a Mughal officer who served with distinction in the Mughal campaigns against the Ahom Raja in 1618.[3] The Paris copy was supposed by Sir Jadunath to be the author's own MS; but the many gaps in the text[4] show that at best it can only have been a copy of the author's original MS prepared, as the fly leaf says, for one of his patrons. We are fortunate in possessing marginal notes on the text. Sir Jadunath supposed these to be the author's corrections. But the notes pour ridicule on many statements and actions of the author and they must therefore be by someone else. Who he was is a question difficult to decide. He adversely comments upon the language, the style and the usuage of the author. Of course the annotator was a staunch Muslim, as is proved by his vehement comments on the irreligious conduct of the Mughal officers when they celebrated a Mughal victory in the sacred month of Ramzan. He would not have a Sayyad lead the van,[5] nor would he tolerate anyone among them being executed for any fault what-

1. Page 304 a.
2. Cf. p. 277a.
3. Page 51; Sir Jadu Nath's copy of the English translation.
4. Cf. p. 271a.
5. Leaf 318.

soever.[6] He must have written when the fear of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was a thing of the past. His comments on many of their actions are too free for a Mughal courtier even of a later generation. He dubs Shah Jahan's conduct in one case as foolishness.[7] He picks holes in the historical knowledge of his author, but himself fares no better when he indulges in any exhibition of his own knowledge. He rightly refuses to believe in the miracles which Nathan declares in his book he was able to perform.

The work is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the government of Islam Khan in Bengal; the second treats of his successor Qasim Khan's rule therein; the third deals with Ibrahim Khan's government of Bengal; while the last is a record of Shah Jahan's rule in Bengal and the allied provinces. Every part is further sub-divided into stories or chapters. The first book is rather over-burdened with verse. Out of its 141 double pages, 55 (double pages) are covered by the work of poets who seem to have flocked to Bengal in order to allow Nathan to adorn his work with their verses. Unfortunately the versified accounts of many of the incidents differ from the story given in the original. Verses appear elsewhere as well but not so frequently.

The interest of the work is manifold. Besides providing us with a detailed story of the Mughal conquest and occupation of Bengal and Assam, it throws welcome light on many administrative practices of the day, and enables us to judge for ourselves how far imperial orders were obeyed by the governors of far off provinces. It further supplies us with a detailed account of Shah Jahan's rebellion in Bengal and Bihar. Its references to social customs and religious beliefs are very valuable. The detailed account of Mughal seige operations and expeditionary forces prove, as never before, the difficulties of warfare in Bengal and the Mughal efforts at overcoming them. Further it preserves a faithful account of the part Nur Jahan was playing at this time in the government of the country.

Let the work speak for itself now.

6. Leaf 313.
7. Leaf 303.

BAHARISTAN-I-GHAIBI

By

Mirza Nathan.

Introduction.

Shatab Khan alias Nathan, son of Malik Ali Ihtmam Khan, brought together this account of the affairs in Bengal so that it may form a part of the chronicles of Jahangir's reign and find a place in the Memoirs of the emperor.

PART I.

The Government of Islam Khan.

Chapter I.

When Jahangir Quli Khan,[8] governor of Bengal, died, Islam Khan,[9] governor of Bihar, was appointed to succeed him. He came to Agra so that he might be invested with the insignia of his office. When he had royal audience, he submitted to Jahangir that all the old officers in Bengal were dishonest and treacherous, but

8. Jahangir Quli Khan originally known as Lala Beg was the son of Nizam, Humayun's Librarian. He entered Jahangir's service when he was still a prince. On Jahangir's accession he was raised to the command of 4000 horse and appointed Subahdar of Bihar. When Qutub-ud-Din, governor of Bengal, was killed by Sher Afghan on May 30, 1607 (Beni Parshad, page 175, has wrongly assigned March 30 as the date of Sher Afghan's death.), he was appointed governor of Bengal. He succumbed to the climate of Bengal soon after. Jahangir learnt of his death on 20 Muharam, 1018 A.H. (27-4-1608) cf. Iqbalanama Jahangiri, 33, 34, Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, 21 and 208; Maasir I, 512 to 514.

9. Islam Khan, originally known as Alaud Din was the grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishti and son of Jahangir's foster brother. He entered Mughal service under Akbar. He was brought up along with Jahangir and was a year younger. He was raised to the command of 2000 horse and given a post at Agra by Jahangir on his accession. He informed the emperor of Qutub-ud-Din's death in Bengal and was appointed to succeed Jahangir Quli Khan in Bihar. His appointment to Bengal in June 1608 was resented in the court circles as he was considered to be too young for that important charge! He was 38 at the time. Cf. Memoirs, I, 31, 32, 143, 144, 171 and 208

very good at coining excuses. They should therefore be all recalled. Further it was necessary, he held, to appoint an honest Diwan. Ihtman Khan[10] or someone else as competent should also be sent as officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats. Jahangir thereupon issued orders recalling the old Diwan, Wazir Khan,[11] and his sons who were at the root of the disturbed condition of things in the province. Further Islam Khan was empowered to suggest other changes in the government on reaching the province. Abul Hasan Mu'atamid Khan was accordingly appointed Diwan[12] and Ihtman Khan was appointed the Chief of artillery and the navy.

(Islam Khan and Mu'atamid Khan thereupon left Agra for Bengal and took charge of the province. Islam Khan preceded his Diwan) who reached Raj Mahal later on and paid his respects to the governor and prince Jahandar.[13]

10. Ihtmam Khan, originally known as Malik Ali, was a commander of 250 horse and Mir Shab when the Ain was compiled. By the time Akbar died, he had risen to become the Kotwal of Agra and Jahangir sent him against Khusru when he rebelled. Later on he was sent against Badi-uz-Zaman to Malwa with a view to reconcile him and bring him to court. On his appointment to his present office he was raised to the command of 1,000 horse. Cf. Memoirs, I, 127 and 144; Iqbalanama, 9.

11. Wazir Khan, originally known as Mukim was styled Wazir Khan and appointed a Wazir by Akbar probably after the compilation of the list of the Wazirs in the Ain. Jahangir was not very well inclined towards him and after keeping him the Wazir for some time, appointed Jan Beg his colleague, in the first year of his reign. Soon after he was appointed Diwan of Bengal to settle the revenues of the province. He was recalled from that province on March 19, 1608, five weeks before Jahangir learnt the news of Jahangir Quli Khan's death in Bengal. He reported himself to Jahangir on 17 Jumadi-ul-Awwal 1017 A.H. Nathan is wrong therefore in ascribing his dismissal to Islam Khan who was in Bihar when he was recalled. Cf. Masir, III, 932—933; Memoirs, I, 13, 20, 22, 139, 147. He rose to be a commander of 2,500 horse.

12. Cf. Memoirs, I, 139. He had already been appointed Wazir Khan's successor before Islam Khan's appointment to the province of Bengal.

13. According to Mirza Hadi's preface to the Memoirs of Jahangir (P. 17 of the Aligarh edition of the Persian Text.) he was born about the time of Akbar's death in 1605. Terry (Early European Travels in India, 330.) states that Jahangir got the news of his birth just when he ascended the throne. This is opposed to Price's translation of the Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi

Ihtman Khan was invested with a *Khiliat* and raised to the command of a thousand horse (second class) on Wednesday, 5 Rabi-ul-Awal, 1017 A.H., 2 hours after sunset.

He was sent to the prime minister who gave him good counsel and asked him to take 400,000 maunds of salt with him to the prince (presumably to be sold by him) as little salt was produced in Bengal[14]

Chapter II.

On an auspicious day on the morning of 9, Rabi-ul-Awal, Ihtman Khan brought his war boats into the river Jumna just below the salutation balcony where Jahangir was sitting. The boats manoeuvred and the artillery thundered. The emperor was so pleased that he declared he would now be able to quell all disturbances in Bengal. After thus saluting the emperor, Ihtmam Khan left by way of the river. On the ninth day he reached Allahabad. Here he learnt that Raja Kalyan Singh, son of Man Singh,[15] who had earlier been recalled to the court from

(350). He was born of a concubine. When he was barely a year old he was sent to Bengal on June 6, 1606, with Qutub-ud-Din, the new governor of Bengal, as his tutor. He remained in Bengal at his tutor's death under the guardianship of his successor Jahangir Quli. It seems that the tutorship of this prince had become attached to the government of Bengal as Islam Khan was now appointed to the job. Cf. Memoirs, I, 20, 153; Iqbalnama, 306. Price's Jahangir, 35, wrongly makes Jahandar a uterine brother of Parveiz. Gladwin (22) makes him, again wrongly, a twin to Shahryar and places his birth in the first year of Jahangir's reign.

14. Cf. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 47, and Ain-i-Akbari, II, 122.

15. Raja Kalyan Singh has been wrongly described in the Tuzak (Persian Text, 199, Memoirs, I, 402.) as a son of Raja Todar Mal. This has been hitherto accepted though Maasir-ul-Umra does not mention any such son of Todar Mal, nor any son who rose to distinction. Banerji (History of Orissa, I, 33.) follows Tuzak. I have no hesitation in accepting Nathan's statement especially when Brook's Political History of the State of Jaipur mentions a son of Man Singh who was known as Kalyan Singh. I am surprised to find Sir Jadu Nath (J. B. O. R. S., VII, 53.) follow Tuzak without even mentioning the difference between Baharistan and the Tuzak in this connection. It should be remembered here that Man Singh, his father, was the governor of Bengal when Jahangir came to the throne. Rather reluctantly Jahangir continued him in that command and then sometime in the first year made him Fojdar of Rohtas. He sent for him repeatedly to the court and Man Singh presented himself at Agra on 21, Zil Qada, 1016. (Memoirs,

Rohtas, had just left Allahabad and was at Serai Bandgi[16] The emperor had ordered Ihtmam Khan to take with him to Bengal the artillery Kalyan Singh was bringing with him. Ihtmam Khan sent his officers to Kalyan Singh who handed over 330 pieces of cannon, big and small.

Chapter III.

When he reached Jusi,[17] he met Wazir Khan, the Diwan, who was hastening to the imperial court as ordered. He told him that he had been authorised to take charge of the pieces of artillery in Wazir Khan's train. As his artillery was travelling by land and had been left behind, Wazir Khan made arrangements for making over to Ihtmam Khan 4 pieces of cannon and two war boats. These taken over, Ihtmam Khan proceeded further. At Chahuba, his party was attacked by river pirates, but his son, Nathan, overpowered them, seized two boats that they had taken possession of and, by steady fire throughout the day, he was able to scare them away by the evening. He thus reached Patna wherefrom he proceeded to Rohtas. Here he examined the defences of the fort and took away with him to Patna 85 spare pieces of artillery. From Patna he sent his personal assistant, Mohammad Murad, to Islam Khan in order to arrange for the payment of the salaries to his men. Islam Khan assigned Jahanabad,[18] Tambuk,[19] Bardwan, and Midnapur to him in lieu of the salaries of his men and gave him a Jagir in Bhati[20] and Ghoraghat.[21].

I, 15, 78, 138 and 208; Iqbalnama, 32; Price, 32.). Kalyan Singh seems to be following his father to the court and was later on appointed to his command at Rohtas.

16. Probably in the environs of Allahabad.

17. Opposite Allahabad on the other side of the river. Iqbalnama, 223.

18. 25° 13′ N., 85° E.; a subdivision and its headquarters in Bengal, named after Khan Jahan. Cf. Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 223.

19. Probably Tamluk of the Imperial Gazetteer (XIII, 116), in the Midnapur district in Bengal.

20. The coast strip of Sundar Bans from Hijili to Meghna, Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 226. Cf. the Ain, II, 116.

21. Ghoraghat; modern Chaukhandi on the right bank of the river Karatya, a *sarkar* in Bengal with 84 Mahals. Ain-i-Akbari, II, 135. Cf. Blochman op. cit. p. 215 where he wrongly declares the number of Mahals in the *sarkar* to be 88. 'It comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bograh district.' Cf. Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh, 48; Haft Aklim (Ms.) 2ب (a); Riyaz, 47; Dorn, I, 183.

Meanwhile Islam Khan had already reached Bengal. He took in hand the task of quelling the rebels. He sent an army against Usman[22] who had murdered the officer of the Mughal garrison at Alap Singh. Anayat Khan was in charge of this expedition. He expelled Usman and captured the place. He was now named Ghias Khan.[23]

Iradat Khan,[24] governor of Bihar, sent his men to purchase elephants in Orissa. This party of the Mughals was attacked by the Afghans under Kumar-ud-Din who defeated them, captured the elephants and took possession of other presents these men were bringing from Orissa. Raja Kalyan Singh who was going to Rohtas from Raj Mahal came to the rescue of the Mughals, defeated the Afghans, recaptured the elephants and other valuables and sent them on to Islam Khan. When the emperor heard of this exploit of the Raja, he added 20 villages to his jagir and gave him permission to fly his own flag.

22. Usman, the leader of the Afghans in Bengal at this time, has been variously described as Daud Khan, king of Bengal's brother (Dorn, I, 183.), Sulaiman's son (Ain, II, 147.), Sulaiman's brother and Katlu's son (Maasir, I, 165.). Sujan Rai (413) makes the confusion worse confounded by making Isa Khan, Katlu's son. Blochman (Ain, II, 147.) makes Usman, son of Isa Khan on the authority of Makhzan-i-Afghani though Dorn's reading differs from his. Nor does Tawarikh-i-Murass, a Pashto (Ms.) translation of Makhzan bear him out. Iqbalnama, Tuzak, Akbar Nama, and Farishta shirk the question and describe him simply as the leader of the Afghans in Bengal. Gladwin, Vincent Smith, and Beni Parshad follow suit.

23. Aayat Khan surnamed Ghias Khan is most probably Anayat-Ullah of the Memoirs (I, 158, 160.) who was promoted at the request of Islam Khan, governor of Bengal, to the command of 1,500 horse and created Anayat Khan in 1017 A.H. He was created a commander of 2,000 horse in the sixth year (Tuzak, 97). Rogers' translation (I, 199) making his previous rank 2,000 goes against his text and Beveridge has noted no departure in the reading in any of his MSS. Anayat Khan became the Bakhshi of Ahdis (special household troops) on March 18, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 14.) and died in October, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 43.).

24. Iradit Khan was not the governor of Bihar at this time. Afzal, son of Abul Fazal, was appointed Subahdar of Bengal in succession to Islam Khan (Memoirs, I, 143.). Iradat Khan however had been serving as the Bakshi here since 14 Jamadi-ul-Awal 1016 (Memoirs, I, 117.). He was appointed Mir Saman in the sixth year, rose to the command of 1,500 horse in the 12th year, that of 2,000 in the thirteenth, governor of Kashmir, in the 15th. He died in 1059 A.H. at the age of 76 and a commander of 6,000 horse. He was one of the trusted servants of Shah Jahan. Cf. Memoirs, I, 306, 372; II, 15 and 175; Badshah Nama, III, 718; Maasir, I, 174-79.

Shaikh Badi, Vakil of Raja Pratap-Āditya,[25] saw Islam Khan about this time with his son Sangrāmāditya. He promised to send the Raja with his contingent to the governor.

Chapter IV.

Islam Khan now decided to punish the disturbers of peace in Bengal. He reviewed Ihtmam Khan's war boats and artillery. Ihtmam Khan presented the governor with valuables and cash worth Rs. 46,000, Diwan Mu'atamid Khan Rs. 10,000, Bakhshi Tahar Mohamad Rs. 8,000, and Hoshang, son of Islam Khan, Rs. 5,000.

When Islam Khan first visited Chat Mahal[26] his army was much harassed by the local rebels.

Islam Khan came to Gaur and from here sent an army under Shaikh Kamal against Bir Bhum of Pachet[27] Shams Khan, and Salim Khan Zinimdar of Hijili.[28] The Mughals first entered the territory of Bir Hamir who submitted. They advanced to Darni[29] where Shams Khan also accepted Mughal authority. When they reached Hijli at last, Salim Khan submitted.

Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan[30] against Raja Satarjit.[31] The Raja decided to oppose the Mughals. But he was taken by surprise when the Mughals forded the river and entered his territories. Satarjit now submitted and accompanied Iftkhar Khan to Islam Khan's court.

25. Raja of Jessore and the strongest Hindu prince in Bengal.

26. Probably a variant for Chatgaon, modern Chitagong.

27. Pachet is Panchet, originally Panchkot, in Manbhum district and is represented now by a large Zamindari.

28. Hijili, an old village in the Midnapur district in Bengal, 21° 8′ N, 87° 9′ E.

29. Probably Darwani in the district of Rangpur in Bengal, situated at 20° 53′ N., 88° 15′ E.

30. Cf. Memoirs, I, 170.

31. Satarjit was son of Mukand of Bhusna and one of the twelve great landlords of Bengal. Cf. Blochman in J. A. S. B., 1874, 199; Ibid, 1873, 229; Ibid, 1972, 56 ff. Badshah Nama, III, 70, describes him as the Thanadar of Pandua. Cf. Badshah Nama's account with the account given here; also, Bhattacharya, Mughal North East Frontier Policy.

On Islam Khan's representing the danger to prince Jahandar if he remained in Bengal where disorder was rife, he was recalled to Agra.[32]

Islam Khan meanwhile had left Alai Pur[33] for Nasar Pur. Here his armies joined him and he advanced to Shahpur where Raja Pratāpāditya presented himself. He was duly received and presents were exchanged between the Raja and the governor after which he was given leave to depart.

CHAPTER V.

As the rainy season had begun, Islam Khan decided to proceed towards Ghoraghat rather than towards Bhati. This he

32. Jahandar returned from Bengal and waited upon the emperor on August 18, 1609, when Jahangir discovered him to be a born idiot (Memoirs, I, 156.). Gladwin suggests (45), without quoting any authority, that he was sent to court because he had shown some symptoms of insanity. This is opposed to the testimony of the Memoirs, probably relied on by him. If مجذوب of the text means insane مجذوب مادرزاد would mean born insane and thus there is no question of Jahandar showing these symptoms at this time in Bengal. I am inclined however to read مجذوب as meaning devout which alone makes some sense of the text. It is incredible to think that Jahandar was born insane and Jahangir discovered it when he was more than four years old.

Jahandar's subsequent career is shrouded in obscurity. When Terry was in India with Sir Thomas Roe, Jahandar was alive. Terry writing in 1624 (Early Travels in India, 330.) mentions him as one of the sons of Jahangir, but we can suppose that this meant that he had seen him alive when he left India in 1619. He married and had some children none of whom was however alive when Jahangir died (Iqbalnama, 306). Rogers (Memoirs, I, 461.) is wrong in stating that he died unmarried.

The date of Jahandar's death is not known. Iqbalnama (306) and Mirza Hadi's preface to the Tuzak (17) state that the date of his death has been mentioned in the appropriate place in the two works. Unfortunately no such entries are to be found in either of them. However it is certain that he predeceased his father (Iqbalnama, 306.). Cf. Hawkins (Early Travels, 101.).

33. On the junction of the Atharbanka and the Bhairab, east of Khulna, named after Alaudin Hussain Shah of Bengal; J. A. S. B., 1872, 227 n.

thought would enable him to deal with the risings of Musa Khan[34] and twelve Bhumia Zamindars of Bhati[35] more easily.

Raja Partāpāditya had promised to send 400 war boats after reaching Jessore. Further he promised to join Islam Khan's armies in person with 500 war boats and 20,000 foot, when he would proceed against Bhati. Islam Khan gave Jessore back to Pratāpāditya, and added to his territories Bikrampur[36] and Sri Pur.[37]

At an auspicious hour Islam Khan left for Ghoraghat by land, where he stayed for some time. Ihtmam Khan was asked to proceed by river. Passing Amardal,[38] Ibrahim[39] Pura and Kalabari he reached Ghoraghat and joined Islam Khan.

34. Musa Khan was son of Isa Khan described as the chief of all other kings and a great friend to Christians by Ralph Fitch (Early Travels, 28.). Cf. De Laet, 183.

35. Bhumiyas or Bhuiyas as they are variously called were originally twelve governors appointed by the Pathan rulers of Bengal. Slowly and steadily they wrested power from the hands of their king. 'They refused to pay tribute or to acknowledge allegiance to anyone. They became kings with armies and fleets at their command, ever ready to wage war against each other and to oppose the invasion of Portuguese pirates or Magh free-booters.' Wise; J. A. S. B., 1875, 182, 183. After the conquest of Bengal by Akbar, they continued in their government of the districts paying tribute to the governor. Their headquarters were at Bhowal, Bikrampur, Baluah, Chandardip, Khizrpur, Jessore, and Bosnah. Some of them were Hindus and others Pathan. Cf. J. A. S. B., 1874, 199.

36. Bikrampur was the headquarter of one of the twelve Bhumiyas of Bengal. It is now in the district of Dacca, situated at 23° 33′ N., 90° 33′ E. It is included in the Sarkar of Sonargaon in the Ain, II, 138. It was visited by many European travellers in the sixteenth century. It was the capital of Bengal under its Hindu kings.

37. Sri Pur is an island near Rājābāsi and is now called Sripur Tek (Wise, Notes on Sonargaon, J. A. S. B., 1874, 86.). Cf. Ralph Fitch (Early Travels in India, 28.); Ain, II, 134; Badshah Nama, I, 436. Kedar Rai of Sripur who died in 1602 long gave the Mughals very great trouble in Bengal. Takmil-i-Akbar Nama, Elliot, VI, 111.

38. Amar Dal is probably Amadi in Jessore.

39. Ibrahim Pura is probably Bazar Ibrahim Pura in the Sarkar of Sharifabad in Bengal; Ain, II, 139. Or is it Ibrahim Pura in Sarkar Tanda, II, 130? The rivers of Bengal have rendered the task of identifying many of the sites in Bengal difficult.

Raja Rai invested Shahzadpura in Tugmaq Khan's Jagir. He was defeated, his son Raghu Rai was captured and forcibly converted by Tugmaq Khan. When Islam Khan learnt this he was very much upset.

Meanwhile Mirak Bahadur who had been stationed at Chand Pratap was hard pressed by the local Zamindars, Hindus and Muslims. Under the impression that the rainy season made Mughal reinforcements impossible, they besieged the fort of Chand Pratap. Mirak Bahadur did his best, but could not hold on for long against the large force that was surrounding him. A breach was effected and the besieged would have soon been compelled to surrender when Tugmaq Khan who had meanwhile put the affairs at Shahpur in order and heard about Mirak's plight, hastened to his help. The attacking party was taken by surprise, many were killed and the rest fled away in their boats.

There was some unpleasantness between the governor and the Diwan on one side and Ihtmam Khan on the other on account of the fiscal arrangements that he made for the upkeep of the boats. They objected to the estimates of Ihtmam Khan as they were three times as much as the previous accounts. Ihtmam Khan thereupon reduced his demands by one third.

Meanwhile when Hashim Khan,[40] governor of Orissa, heard that Islam Khan in Bengal intended to reduce Muse Khan and twelve Bhumias he decided to send expeditions against Raja Purshotam Dev[41] and other Zamindars of Orissa. Raja Kesho Dass

40. Hashim Khan was the first governor of Orissa which had hitherto been governed as a part of Bengal. Probably the task had proved too much for any one individual (Memoirs, I, 127.). Hashim Khan was appointed on 26th September, 1607. He was thus Islam Khan's senior.

41. Purushotam Dev's territories included Purushotam Puri where the temple of Jagan Nath is situated. He succeeded his father Ram Chandar in 1609 according to Stirling (Asiatic Researches, XV, 294.) and 1607 according to Hunter (Orissa, II, 190.). The siege described below therefore could have taken place in 1609 or 1610. The fact that a present of a horse was sent to Kesho Dass Maru by the emperor in the fifth year (6th April, 1610.) places this meritorious service of this Mughal commander in the end of the year 1609 or the beginning of 1610. Purushotam Dev at this time was Raja of Khurd alone (Hunter, II, 190.). For a description of strange rites associated with the temple of Jagan Nath, Cf. Haft Aklim (Ms.), 26 (b).

Maru[42] wanted to be beforehand with his other colleagues. He was stationed in Cuttack and under the guise of going to worship at the temple of Jagan Nath he set out for that place. After performing worship he at once made himself master of this temple fort. Property worth Rs. 2 to 3 crores fell into his hands. When Raja Purshotam Dev heard this he at once set out for Jagan Nath with a force of ten to twelve thousand horse and three to four lakhs foot and a large number of chariots driven by five hundred to a thousand men. He placed all the chariots by the fort wall. Hard pressed Kesho Das took out the canopies and kanats from the store of the temples, wound them round long poles, dipped them in oil and setting fire to them threw them among the besiegers on the chariots. There was panic among the thick ranks of the enemy, many of them were burnt to death, and others ran away.

Raja Purshotam Dev was very much upset and opened negotiations. Meanwhile the news had travelled to Ghoraghat and Islam Khan sent Tahar Mohammad to Hashim Khan to Cuttack so that reinforcement might be sent to Kesho Doss. Purshotam Dev was frightened into making peace when he heard the news. Kesho Dass was married to the Raja's sister. He also agreed to

42. Raja Kesho Dass Maru, the hero of this exploit and the desecrator of a shrine of his own race, has been confused with Kesho Dass Rathor, Jahangir's father-in-law, by Rogers (Memoirs, I, 170 n.) and Kesho Dass, Raja of Jassailmer in Puri District Gazetteer, (37), followed by D. R. Banerji (History of Orissa, II, 35.). He was however a son of Jaimal of Merta who was shot by Akbar when defending Chitor. He is described as a commander of 300 in the Ain whereas Kesho Dass Rathor is separately entered as a commander of 200 horse and (Ain, I, 502, 506.) died in the 36th year of Akbar.

On Jahangir's accession Kesho Dass Maru was promoted to the command of 1,500 horse and in the first year to that of 2,000 (Memoirs, I, 296.) In the tenth year he complained against the governor of Orissa (Memoirs I, 296.) and came to the court where he received an increment to his rank becoming a commander of 2,000 Zat and one thousand horse (Tuzak, 146; Rogers' translation, I, 297, making the original 1,000 horse is wrong; Cf. Rogers, I, 390). Thus the statement of Nathan accepted by Sarkar and swallowed by Banerji that as the result of this desecration of the temple (see below) Kesho Dass was raised to the command of 4,000 horse and given a standard is entirely without foundation. In the fifth year, the only honour Kesho Dass received was the present of a horse which was sent to him to Bengal (Memoirs, I, 170.). This is however no ground for rejecting entirely Nathan's account of the siege of Puri.

give his daughter in marriage to Jahangir and pay Rs. 3 lakhs. He paid Kesho Dass Rs. 10,000 as indemnity. He sent his daughter to the imperial harem.

Kesho Dass was promoted a 4 Hazari and given the privilege of flying his own colours.[43]

Ihtmam Khan fell dangerously ill about this time but was cured by a Kaviraj from Allap Singh.[44]

Islam Khan sent embassies to Raja Lachhmi Narain[45] of Kamta (Kuch) and Bir Parichhat Narain[46] of Kamrup. The first submitted through the mediation of Raja Raghunath of Shushang.[47]

Abulwahad was sent against the latter but was defeated and ran away to Fatahpur rather than return to his command. He was imprisoned and brought back in disgrace by Mirza Hussain who had been appointed officer in charge of the artillery.

When the rainy season was over Islam Khan asked Ihtmam Khan to take his boats up the canal to Sayal Garh.[48] Ihtmam Khan and Nathan set their boats in motion.

43. Cf. The translation of this part in J. B. O. R. S., VII, 53 ff, by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

44. Probably Alap Shahi in the Sarkar of Bazoh in Bengal, Ain, I, 137.

45. Lachhmi Narain was a son of Nar Narain (1540-1584 A.D.) and grandson of Bisya who founded the kingdom of Kuch Bihar in about 1512. He came to the throne probably in 1584, his coins struck in 1587 are extant. On his accession to the throne, his cousin Raghu Dev who had established a kingdom in Kuch Haju but accepted his father's sovereignty became independent. Lachhmi Narain was thus the first king of Kuch Bihar. He submitted to Akbar in 1596 and Raja Todar Mal, then governor of Bengal, married his sister in 1597. The death of Raghu Deb in 1603 complicated matters and his son Parichhat Narain who succeeded him made war on him. The capital of his kingdom was Kuch Bihar. For a detailed history, Cf. Gait (History of Assam, pp. 46 ff.); and Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1875, 306; and Ibid, 1872, 100.)

46. Parichhat Narain, was a son of Ragho Deb, Lachhmi Narain of Kuch Bihar's cousin, and succeeded his father in 1603. His step-mother's attempt to exclude him from the throne created a civil war in Kuch Haju and his difficulties with Lachhmi Narain weakened his power considerably. His capital was at North Gauhati. Cf. Gait, op. cit.

47. In Maiman Singh district and the seat of Raja Raghunath whose family had been imprisoned by Parichhat Narain. Raghu Nath complained to Islam Khan and this provided an occasion for invading Kuch Haju.

48. Probably modern Sialdah in the district of Twenty-four Parganas? Cf. I. G., VII, 284—286.

Nathan left his father on the way in order to visit the shrine of a saint at Pandua and joined him later on.

Chapter VI.

The shallow waters of the Khal created many difficulties which were overcome by the ingenuity of Nathan who managed to let into the Khal water from the channels near about, and Sayal Garh was at last reached. Ihtman Khan went to Shahzad Pur[49] where Islam Khan was waiting for news of his artillery and boats. They decided to pass the Id-i-Ramzan there.

After the Id celebrations Islam Khan reviewed the fleet and the artillery, and was very much pleased with the arrangements especially the floating bridge. From here the army moved on to Balia.[50] The Subhedar went by land. Ihtman Khan was bringing the boats and the artillery. It was decided to send the van to Dacca with 2,000 matchlockmen, 50 pieces of cannon, big and small, 100 mds. of gunpowder and 200 mds. of glass. The van reached Dacca in six stages and began to strengthen the fort.

Islam Khan moved on Kats[51] Garh and Nathan was ordered to follow. Then came the news that Darya Khan had been murdered on account of a brawl due to his unnatural conduct towards an eunuch. Ihtmam Khan wanted to attack Jatra Pur[52] himself but Islam Khan did not consent thereto. Raja Raghunath of Susang submitted now.

Islam Khan sent an expedition to Fatahebad[53] under Habib-Allah. Mujlis Uutab was obliged to shut himself up in the fort, and ask for reinforcements from Musa Khan. But the imperialists were too many for him even when the reinforcements came. Raja Satrajit's generalship and bravery helped them. There were many sallies; but the Raja made it impossible for the enemy to score much. After a good deal of fighting on both sides, Mujlis Qutab tried to slink away to Musa Khan; but the imperialists made that impossible. At last he left the fort and ran away.

49. Shah Zadpur in Sarkar Lakhnauti in Bengal; Ain, II, 131.
50. Bhalua, the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas already mentioned above.
51. Cf. I. G. (new), VIII, 101.
52. 25° 49′ N., 89° 47′ E.
53. Mentioned as one of the Sarkars in Bengal. Cf. Ain, II, 132.

Meanwhile fight between Musa Khan and Islam Khan had also commenced when Musa Khan heard that Islam Khan was at Kats Garh. Rather than allow him to proceed to Jatrapur, he sailed down and attacked the imperial camp with seven hundred boats through the river *Isamati*. When the night came, he encamped at Dakchera on the other side of the Isamati.[54] Digging a deep ditch round, he entrenched himself there. He was supported by Alawal Khan, his cousin, his younger brother, Madho Rai of Kahalsi, Banod Rai of Chand Pratap, Pahlwan of Matang and others. On the other side Islam Khan arranged his forces in battle order. Musa Khan again began the bombardment and caused heavy casualties among the imperialists. They returned the compliment in kind, and sank many boats of the rebels. Madho Rai's son and Banod Rai's brother were killed. Next morning some of the enemy under Madho Rai and Banod Rai landed near the Mughals and engaged the Mughal forces in a hand to hand fight. The imperialists however pressed them hard on land and many were driven into the river and lost their lives. Islam Khan then sent an expedition under Iftkhar Khan against the fort of the enemy at Jatrapur. Nathan here proved of great value and connected the two wings of the imperial army by cutting a channel. With ten thousand boatmen engaged in the task, he did not spare himself.

Musa Khan had now had enough of it and submitted. He visited Islam Khan who received him kindly. But when Islam Khan went to return the visit, he injured Musa Khan's feelings by his foolish talk and interference. Musa Khan broke off negotiations and the battle raged once again. Islam Khan however succeeded in conquering the fort of Jatrapur.

Now he turned to the siege of Dakchera. Nathan with his ten thousand boatmen was busy cutting a channel. Working day and night and encouraging his men by his own example, he cut the channel in a week and connected it with the river *Isamati* He informed Islam Khan. On 27 Rabi-ul-Awal 1017 (1019?), a day fixed by the astrologer, Islam Khan entered the channel and praised Nathan's work. At night all the royal boats entered the canal. Nathan begged for an appointment for taking part in the attack on the fort. Dakchera was now invested

54. Isamati is probably the Ichhamati river in Bengal.

with greater vigour, and Nathan did wonders. From sheer jealousy, other commanders did not support him. He set five thousand men to fill up the ditch round the fort and stormed it at night. It was at last captured by his skill after a siege of 25 days.

Luqman's Jangnama on the war.

Islam Khan now turned back to Dacca. As the imperial army marched, arrangements were made for dealing with the enemy if he dared to raise his head. At Sripur, Kalk Pura and Shahpura[55] Balra, Kodalia, Pathra Ghat garrisons were left to keep the country in order. Musa Khan however was not able to face the Mughal Army. At last Dacca was reached in safety.

Chapter VII.

Musa Khan had not submitted to the imperialists; he had left his conquered forts in the hands of the victors and himself fled to Katra Bo.[56] When Islam Khan turned his back upon the country, Musa Khan made up his mind to challenge the imperialists once again behind the protection afforded him by the river Lakhya. Islam Khan decided to take up the challenge.

He stationed garrison forces at Sart Pur, Vikrampur, Kadm Raml, Katra Bo, Khizar Pur[57] and Kanvar Sir. Khizar Pur was attacked by Musa Khan's forces but they were obliged to allow the Mughals to establish themselves there under Nathan. The main Mughal outpost was however established at Katra Bo where Nathan and Musa Khan lay facing each other and exchanging shots. On March 12, 1611, Islam Khan visited the batteries when Nathan explained his plan of crossing the river Lakhia and carrying the war into the enemy's country. Later on a merchant was captured who was seen coming from the enemy's side. He told them that the enemy planned to gather his forces for a surprise attack on the place. Nathan sent the trader to his father at Khizar Pura and himself began crossing the river at the dead of night. A part of the army crossed on elephants, others on the rafts of

55. Shahpura is described as a Mahal in the Sarkar of Tajpura in Bengal in the Ain, II, 135, extending now over Eastern Purnia and Western Dinajpur according to Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1873, 215.).

56. Katraboh is mentioned as a Parganah in the Sarkar of Bazuh in a grant of 1700 A.D. (J. A. S. B., 1874, 214.).

57. Khizrpur in Lakhnauti Sarkar (Ain, II, 131.) was the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas.

banana planks, while 80 boats sent by Ihtmam Khan came just in time to help his son. The Mughals now attacked Daud Khan's fort who was so hard pressed by this surprise attack that he was compelled to evacuate it. A part of the rest of the Mughal army crossed over and Nathan went to Kadam Raml to his father. Meanwhile the enemy attacked the Mughals who were hard pressed. They managed however to head off the attack and Nathan led them to assault Musa Khan's fort. Musa Khan and Mirza Mumina and Alawal Khan left the fort and fled away. Their followers however were not so easily discouraged and returned to attack the Mughals. Nathan now used his elephants to produce a panic among the enemy boats. The Mughals were at last successful and Musa Khan fled to Ibrahim Pura.

Luqman's verses on the war.

Sonargaon was surrendered to the Mughals by an officer of Musa Khan. Daud Khan, his brother, was killed by the Farangis (the Dutch ?). Musa Khan tried in vain to oust Nathan from the fort of Alawal Khan. A change of commander at Kodalia seemed to give him another chance, and he almost succeeded in capturing the fort when reinforcements arrived. The battle now became fierce but Mughal elephants and artillery helped them to victory. Khark Bahadur and Mujlis Qutab now submitted to Islam Khan and were given their lands as Jagirs. Their war boats were however taken into the imperial service.

About this time envoys from Raja Salim of Magh's cousin, came. He undertook to conquer Sandep from the Farangis and this was given to him as a Jagir.

Meanwhile at Patna a fakir led a rising with the help of Raja Madhokar Ujjania claiming that he was Khusru. He distributed a large amount of gold among his followers. Afzal,[58] the governor of Patna, whose absence on the expeditions against Musa Khan had provided the occasion for this rising, returned in haste. When he was about to cross the river Pun Pun his path was disputed; but he succeeded after a skirmish in making good his advance. The supposed Khusro fled to Patna where he at last surrendered. Afzal Khan tortured him to death, tearing him limb by limb.

58. Cf. Memoirs, I, 173, 175 and Iqbalnama, 42, 44.

When Jahangir received the news he flew into anger at Afzal Khan's dealing on his own authority with one who claimed to be the emperor's son. Islam Khan's intercession however saved Afzal Khan.

Islam Khan arrested Baz Bahadur for his inactivity against Musa Khan on Ghias Khan's complaint. When the rainy season came, Islam Khan stationed garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan who now discovered that he had no other course left but to submit. He made his submission to Shaikh Kamal at Kanvar Sar with all his followers. He was sent to the emperor under a guard and his brother was taken into service and appointed against Usman at Bakai Nagar.

Chapter VIII.

Ali Akbar, one of the followers of Wazir Khan, the late Diwan of Bengal was given a fort in Bengal. When he reached Malda he borrowed Rs. 4,000 from his father-in-law. Leaving Malda he reached Bidhi Ghat where he joined Mir Jalal who was carrying the imperial treasury to Dacca. He frightened the Mir who fled away and all the treasure fell into Akbar's hands. He now returned to Malda, and, after an ineffectual resistence, made himself master of the city which he ravaged. He got a large amount of pillage thereby getting Rs. 700,000 from the house of Ihtmam Khan which he razed to the ground and burnt. From there he advanced to Tajpur[59] which he also plundered. Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan from Shahpur against him who made a dash to Tajpur reaching there in 42 hours instead of five days. Ali Akbar was on the point of taking to water in the river Kasi but was compelled to face Iftkhar Khan. He very nearly succeeded in slaying Iftkhar who was however saved by the bravery of one of his companions who cut down Ali Akbar's mount and slew him as well. His head was exhibited on the point of a spear whereupon his followers fled away.

Masnavi of Luqman.

Islam Khan sent another expedition against Raja Anant Manank of Bhalua under Abdul Wahad. This army consisted of 4,000 horses, 3,000 matchlockmen and fifty elephants. When

59. 25° 51′ N, 85° 43′ E.

Anant heard the news, he came out five stages from his capital, and waited for the Mughals who soon came. The battle raged fiercely for some days, the Mughals pillaged the country side. Mirza Usaf, Anant's prime minister however went over to the Mughal side and was created a 5 sadi of the second class. Anant was naturally perturbed by this turn of events and at night slipped away to his capital. The Mughals discovered his flight in the morning and followed him fast. Exasperated and unable to hold the fort, he fled to Raja Magh and the Mughals entered Bhalua.

Chapter IX.

An expedition was now decided upon against Usman of Bakai Nagar. Land roads would not have enabled the imperialists to carry their cannon and siege implements into Usman's territory and it was decided therefore to make a riverine way to the place by connecting the Brahmputra with some of the existing canals (Khals). This was to be done about the village of Hasanpura which was reached by a continuous march for three days and nights under Ghias Khan. The expedition contained, besides the matchlockmen in the imperial artillery, 5,000 matchlockmen, 3,000 (or 300?) war boats, besides those of the twelve Bhumyas, 3,000 elephants (300 ?) besides 80 in the artillery. The number of horsemen must have been in proportion, besides 1,000 picked horse. The whole province was denuded of its military strength, the garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan were weakened, the forces at Dacca attenuated. As usual there was a quarrel between Islam Khan and Ihtmam Khan who was ill and did not accompany the expedition at once. The governor instructed his men to see that he did so and if he did not, asked them to make him start by force. There was a scene and Nathan interfered to make peace. The expedition was marred by ill-timed quarrels between *mansibdars* each jealous of his position, and therefore unwilling to co-operate with the other. But the crowning mercy of the campaign came when Anwar Khan and his brothers of Bania Chang[60] came to Dacca, submitted to the governor and asked him to send them towards Sylhet so that they might close that way of escape to Usman. In an unfortunate moment Islam Khan agreed, gave Anwar Khan his own territory in Jagir and sent a part of his own army to accompany him. Anwar Khan thus got Dacca almost empty of its garrison. He had not gone very far

60. A village in Assam situated at 24° 31′ N, 74° E.

when he wrote to Mahmud Khan, Musa Khan's brother, who was accompanying the main expedition, to rise and make short work of the imperialists and release Musa Khan at Dacca. He further invited Usman to make a surprise attack on the Mughals. Himself he invited the Mughal commander Mubaraz Khan to a feast. Fortunately he was ill and was thus saved. Raja Rai and Islam Quli however went and were taken to Bania Chung whereto Anwar Khan fled. Mubaraz Khan now informed Islam Khan of the plot. He had already become suspicious on account of Musa's conduct. Mahmud Khan and Bahadur Ghazi accompanying the main expedition were made prisoners and sent to Dacca along with other Zamindars.

The main expedition now marched victoriously on conquering fort after fort till Bakai Nagar was reached in the month of Ramzan (28 October—26 November, 1611). Usman was at last forced to vacate Bakai Nagar and fled away to Sylhet owing to the desertion of Nasir Khan and Darya Khan of Tajpur. Bakai Nagar was occupied on the Id; a garrison was left here and an advance was made to Tajpur. However the Mughals discovered they could not achieve much there and returned to Bakai Nagar which was more than 100 *kos*. from Dacca. There was a good deal of bickering and worse, on account of the failure of the expedition to pursue Usman; but Islam Khan had to be content with the victory gained. The territory conquered was given away in Jagir to some of the Mansibdars.

An expedition had also been sent against Anwar Khan. When he heard of Usman's defeat and flight, he submitted and was made a prisoner.

Another expedition under Shamsud-Din was sent to Matang[61] governed by Pahlwan. Here affairs took a turn for the worse, when Usman's brother attacked the imperialists in the rear. Imperial elephants however saved the day. Shamsud-Din and Pahlwan both perished in a single combat. Qurban Ali, adopted son of the Haji, however succeeded in keeping the imperialists together. The enemy was defeated and ran away (was the fort taken?).

61. Tract of country in Lakhmipur district, Assam, I. G. VI, 334.

CHAPTER X.

Islam Khan now began to assume imperial airs. He set up a Jharoka Darshan where he could reply to the salutation of the Amirs without rising. Mu'tqad Khan who protested was put to shame; Saifud-Din went further and fared worse, he was imprisoned.

He soon picked a quarrel with Raja Pratāp Āditya whose boats he got all dismantled. An expedition was sent under Ghias-ud-Din. The artillery demanded pay and there was a good deal of unpleasantness on that account between Nathan and Ihtmam Khan on one side, and the governor, the Bakhshi and the Diwan on the other. However the men were quietened in the end, and Nathan started with his men. Islam Khan stationed garrisons in Bala Sandur, Hasan Pur and Bakai Nagar. Nathan conquered Alai Pur in the way. Ghias Khan sent an expedition from Mahal Pur Baghwan to Bakha which was conquered, and a garrison stationed there with 400 men. Ghias-ud-Din then proceeded on his way. There was a quarrel between Ghias Khan and Mirza Saif-ud-Din, the leader of the expedition, on account of some female prisoners. Ghias wanted a few for himself, Saif refused. Not content with this he enraged Ghias by his foolish talk when he invited him to ride with him on the same elephant. The crisis came when Saif insisted on entering his commander's apartments when he was being massaged. He was imprisoned and sent back in disgrace to Islam Khan.

Meanwhile the expedition advanced into the territory of Jessore. At Salka, Udyāditya, Pratāp's son, sat entrenched in a strong position surrounded on three sides by natural waters, and on the fourth by a trench filled from the waters of the Brahmputra diverted thereto. Nathan, however, divided the imperialists into two sections and attacked Pratāpāditya from land and water. He entrenched himself in front of the enemy who however did not give him time enough for it. In a hard contested battle, the imperialists almost lost the day, but the death of Khawaja Kamal turned the fortunes of the day. The Jessorian army ran away and the imperialists would have succeeded in capturing Udyāditya, but for the ingenuity of the Europeans who intervened with their boats. Udyaditya succeeded in making good his escape with two of his wives who had been with him all through the battle.

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History of the Reign of Shāh Jāhan

By

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PART II.

INTRODUCTION: PRECIOUS STONES IN GENERAL

Wealth may have power and money may be wealth, but there is nothing essentially interesting or inspiring about a heap of gold and silver as such. A pearl or precious stone, however, is a different matter. Just as a beautiful manuscript is art wedded to knowledge, so a jewel is art wedded to wealth.

We have no respect for a man who loves gold or silver, except when it is used as a means to a moral or artistic end: we have nothing but admiration for a man who loves gems and jewels for their own sake; for love of beauty is itself beautiful.

The Jewel Treasury of the Mughals represents a very special institution which reflects their temperament and their tastes, their wealth and their power—the spirit of the age, in fact, as interpreted by them.

The subject-matter of this Part, therefore, is fascinating beyond words.

One's interest in life must precede one's interest in history; and things must make a real impression on our minds before stories about them can signify anything. We propose, therefore, to devote this Introduction to the general nature of precious stones, the qualities which they have been believed to possess, the uses to which they have been put, and the like.

SECTION I: FANCY

Weight for weight, precious stones have always been among the most valuable things of the world. Their use is mainly ornamental or artistic. It constitutes one of the facile paradoxes of

economists that while the most essentially useful things like air and water seldom have a price in the market, the utterly useless things like rubies or diamonds command incredibly high prices. But we are not all economists or dealers in paradox.

From a wider point of view a deep and subtle interest attaches to the appearance of gem-stones from the bowels of the earth. Whatever the mineralogists may have to say, the mysterious forces of nature, in producing a diamond or an emerald, seem to strike together by rare chance into a delicate balance. No one can deny that among the products of nature there is something noble and select and classic about precious stones. The Germans certainly need not apologize for calling a precious stone an *edel*-stein—a 'noble stone'.

The coloration of gem-stones has always made a powerful appeal to the poet. Metaphors from precious stones have constituted an ornament in the poetry of all countries since early times. Who has not heard of the 'Emerald Isle', 'sapphire seas', 'ruby lips', 'pearly teeth', 'amber hair', 'coral lips', and 'turquoise skies'; or read in Shelley of 'the emerald heaven of trees', 'the sapphire floods of interstellar air', and 'the chrysolite of sunrise'?

'The love of precious stones', says Dr. Kunz, 'is deeply implanted in the human heart, and the cause of this must be sought not only in their coloring and brilliancy but also in their durability. All the fair colors of flowers and foliage, and even the blue of the sky and the glory of the sunset clouds, only last for a short time, and are subject to continual change, but the sheen and coloration of precious stones are the same to-day as they were thousands of years ago and will be for thousands of years to come. In a world of change, this permanence has a charm of its own that was early appreciated!' (G. F. Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious stones*, Preface, p. v.).

But this is not all. Fable and popular superstition have, from shadowy antiquity, invested these products of nature's mute alchemy with weird powers over man's destiny and his temperament. Who knows, some of the earliest intuitions of humanity may be a nearer approach to truth than a closely reasoned system of thought, which has its day and ceases to be? For, still there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in Horatio's philosophy. All we are concerned with is the fact that

from the earliest times the precious stones have filled the human observer with wonder, and sent his fancy travelling through a strange system of affinities and symbolism.

'The magi, the wise men, the seers, the astrologers of the ages gone by', continues the same writer, 'found much in the matter of gems that we have nearly come to forgetting. With them each gem possessed certain planetary attractions peculiar to itself, certain affinities with the various virtues, and a zodiacal concordance with the seasons of the year. Moreover, these early sages were firm believers in the influence of gems in one's nativity—that the evil in the world could be kept from contaminating a child properly protected by wearing the appropriate talismanic, natal, and zodiacal gems. Indeed, folklorists are wont to wonder whether the custom of wearing gems in jewelry did not originate in the talismanic idea instead of in the idea of mere additional adornment.' (Kunz, 1)

Colour went a long way to determine the influence of gemstones on the fortunes or health of the person who wore them; and affinities between temperaments and precious stones could possibly be traced through the colours with which the latter were associated.[1]

Primitive imagination has always revelled in a gorgeous display of gems. The Babylonian legends tell of trees on which grow precious stones (232).[2]

The reader is no doubt familiar with the description of the New Jerusalem in the vision of John (*Revelation* xxi, 18-21).[3] Nor is that the only example of the kind, for the idea of a gem-city has always fascinated the nations of antiquity. Lucian, in his *Vera Historia,* describes one under the name of the city of the Islands of the Blessed (237). Again, the *Puranas* contain a description of the wonderful city of Dwāraka which is 'a gorgeous mass of the most brilliant gems known in India' (236). 'Hindu mythology tells of a wonderful tank formed of crystal, the

1. On this subject see Kunz, 29-34.

2. This and all the figures within brackets that follow are references to the pages of Kunz.

3. See also *Isaiah,* liv, 11-12.

work of the god Maya' (237). A wonderful 'Diamond Throne' stood near the Tree of Knowledge beneath which Gautama Buddha received his supreme revelation of truth (238).

A few virtues of precious stones may be noticed here by way of curiosity (It is only a selection from a very large and miscellaneous catalogue):

Spirits lived in precious stones (27). Amulets were considered indispensable, by way of protection, for those who evoked dark spirits (39). The magician's art was powerless if an emerald was in his vicinity (77).

The opal rendered its wearer invisible (148). The serpent could not look upon an emerald without losing his sight (157-58).[4]

The true Oriental ruby announced coming misfortunes by change of colour and by growing obscurity (158-59). The red coral and the onyx had a similar ominous character (159-60). The emerald foreshowed future events (76). Again, by putting it under the tongue, one could predict future events (79).

A diamond worn on the breast of the high-priest showed the guilt or innocence of a person accused of any crime (71 and 278). The emerald 'revealed the truth or falsity of lover's oaths' (78). Yet this stone was an enemy of sexual passion; for the exceptionally valuable emerald worn in a ring by King Bela of Hungary broke into three parts when he embraced his wife. (Albertus Magnus) (78). A sapphire was used as a test of female virtue, the change of colour indicating unfaithfulness on the part of the wearer (105). Shakespeare considers the opal a fit emblem of inconstancy (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv).

A ruby of the King of Ceylon was 'believed to possess the virtues of an elixir of youth' (166). Diamond, emerald and sapphire were all antidotes against poison (376, 379 and 104 respectively). Diamond was said to grow dark in the presence of poison (379). The ruby, when thrown into water, caused it to boil (102).

4. 'Blinded like serpents when they gaze
Upon the emerlad's virgin blaze'.—Moore.

'Sleeping-stone' induced sleep, and 'Waking-stone' induced wakefulness (Pseudo-Aristotle) (163-64). In Sumero-Assyrian inscriptions we have 'Stone of Love' and 'Stone of Hate', which excited these passions respectively in the hearts of their wearers. There are similarly the stones of memory and forgetfulness in the *Gesta Romanorum* (35).

Precious stones could, under certain circumstances, lose their powers, 'If handled or even gazed upon by impure persons and sinners, some of the virtues of the stones departed from them. Indeed, there were those who held that precious stones, in common with all created things, were corrupted by the sin of Adam. Therefore, in order to restore their pristine virtue it might become necessary to sanctify and consecrate them, and a kind of ritual serving this purpose has been preserved in several old treatises' (44-45). Again, 'the talismanic power of a diamond was lost if the stone were acquired by purchase; only when received as a gift could its virtue be depended on. The same belief is noted regarding the turquoise. The spirit dwelling in the stone was thought to take offence at the idea of being bought and sold, and was supposed to depart from the stone, leaving it nothing more than a bit of senseless matter' (73).

The ancient Mexicans called blood "water of precious stones" (40). With some people 'the wearing of precious stones was believed to enrich the blood and thus to promote health and vigour, for "the blood is the life"' (40).

Extravagant tales are told of luminous stones, of how they lit up rooms, temples and palaces. Instances are reported where rubies, diamonds and emeralds shone by their own light. 'From the Lydian river Tmolus a marvellous stone was taken which was said to change color four times a day. This surpasses the properties of the "saphire merveilleux" which changed its hue at night. Only innocent young girls could find the Lydian stone, and while they wore it they were defended from outrage' (163).

Engraved Stones.—So far about the plain stones. From ancient times signs, figures and letters have been engraved on stones, which imparted certain special qualities of their own to them, independently of the inherent qualities of the latter. If these two reinforced each other the effect was stronger. Again, in order to attain special efficiency, the signs were engraved at a time

when the astrological influences were favourable. Further, 'in the production of engraved stones to serve as amulets, the influence of the respective planet was made to enter the stone by casting upon the latter, during the process of engraving, reflections from a mirror, which had been exposed to the planet's rays. In addition to this, the work was executed while the planet was in the ascendant, and the design was emblematic of it. With these combined influences the gem was believed to be thoroughly impregnated with the planetary virtue' (340).—Throughout the historical and the prehistoric periods we find gnostic signs and writings, astrological symbols, sacred texts and names, names and monograms, etc., of owners, engraved on gems for various purposes.

The Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder seals (from 4000 B.C. to 500 B.C.), Cretan seals (from 2500 B.C.), the Egyptian scarabs (funeral scarabs, or else used as gifts or as signets), Roman rings set with scarabs, Babylonian scaraboid seals introduced from Egypt (fifth or sixth century B.C.) and seal-rings (third century B.C. to third century A.C.) can only be mentioned here (117-22).

Engraving sacred texts on stones is an old practice. The ancient Egyptians engraved 'texts from a very ancient ritual composition, called the Book of the Dead, upon certain semi-precious stones which had been cut into various symbolical forms' (225).

A few of the most remarkable examples of engraved stones are given below:

'In the Cabinet du Roi, in Paris, there was an engraved carnelian, the design showing Jupiter enthroned, with thunderbolt and sceptre, and Mars and Mercury standing on either side of the central figure. Separated from the gods of the upper air by a bow, probably representing the arch of the sky, appears the bust of Neptune, emerging from the sea. The border of the design is formed by the twelve signs of the zodiac, Virgo being of an unusual type—the virgin and a unicorn—said to have been used only during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.)' (341).

'The popularity of the carnelian as a talismanic stone among Mohammedan peoples is said to be due to the fact that the Prophet himself wore, on the little finger of his right hand, a silver ring set with a carnelian engraved for use as a seal.' Imām Ja'far

declared that all the desires of any man who wore this stone would be gratified. In Persia the name of one of the twelve *Imāms* is frequently engraved on this stone (63-64).

Again, 'there is in the Imperial Academy at Moscow a turquoise two inches in diameter, inscribed with a text from the Koran in letters of gold. This turquoise was formerly worn by the Shah of Persia as an amulet, and it was valued at 5000 rubles by the jeweller from whose hands it came' (quoted from Kluge, *Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsic, 1860, p. 366) (142).

At the other extremity of the moral scale are certain jewels said to have been pawned in Paris by the ex-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamīd for 12,00,000 francs (about £47,500). The designs on these were an offence against public decency, so that they could not be offered at a public sale (139).

Religious Uses of Stones.—These, as we have seen, date from the ancient Egyptians.

Every one knows of the Breastplate on the ephod of the Hebrew High-priest, the twelve stones of which symbolized the twelve months of the year. This Breastplate, it should be noted, belongs 'to the time of the return from the Babylonian Captivity and the building of the second temple' (231).[5]

Instances could be added *ad libitum;* but space prohibits.

Among the Hindus there was the *Panchratna,* usually consisting of gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby, and pearl (241). And then we have the *nauratna,* the nine-gem jewel, 'one of the oldest and perhaps the most interesting talismanic jewel' (242). It was designed to combine all the powerful astrological influences, and comprised diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, zircon (hyacinth), pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, and sapphire.

The *Manī Mālā,* or Chain of Gems, in possession of the late Rāja Sir Surindro Mohun Tagore, of Calcutta, consisted of diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, pearl, zircon, coral, emerald, topaz, sapphire,

5. The "breastplate of Aaron", if it had any actual existence, and the one 'brought by Titus to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., are in all probability entirely distinct objects' (289).

chrysoberyl, garnet, carnelian, quartz, and rock-crystal, with a *nauratna* pendant, from which a pear-shaped pearl hung.

The so-called "phenomenal" gems, which exhibit a phenomenal quality—a moving line as in the chrysoberyl cat's-eye, or the quartz cat's-eye, or a star as in star-sapphire or star-ruby—are a great favourite with the Oriental peoples, being considered to bring good fortune to the wearer (333-34).

Jade talismans are very popular at the present day in the Muslim world, specially among the Turks (246).

Birth-stones.—These came into use comparatively late. The fashion of wearing them is traceable to the Jews (309).

A stone corresponded to each one of the twelve months of the year, and had influence over the destiny of the person born in that month. Again, a stone belonged to each of the seasons of the year, spring, summer, autumn and winter (323). A series of stones corresponded also to the twelve zodiacal signs—"astral" or "zodiacal" stones.

'When the zodiacal signs were engraved on gems to give them special virtues and render them of greater efficacy for those born under a given sign, the Hebrew characters designating the sign (or at least the initial character) were often cut upon the gem' (332).

Only a word need be added on the medicinal uses of precious stones. These cured not only talismanically by the patient wearing them but were ground to powder, dissolved and taken internally. Considering the therapeutic properties of gems noticed by various writers, we fancy a natty little parmacopoeia could be compiled out of the multitudinous variety of stones prescribed for the various ills and ailments.

We may wind up these odds and ends of curious lore by the following passage, where the birth of the diamond and the creation of the pearl are poetically narrated. Considering that imagination, after all, is of the essence of life, the following is delightful reading:

'When the God of the Mines called his courtiers to bring him all known gems, he found them to be of all colors and tints, and

of varying hardnesses, such as the ruby, emerald, sapphire, etc., etc. He took one of each; he crushed them; he compounded them, and said: "Let this be something that will combine the beauty of all; yet it must be pure, and it must be invincible." He spoke: and lo! the diamond was born, pure as the dew-drop and invincible in hardness; but when its ray is resolved in the spectrum, it displays all the colors of the gems from which it was made. "Mine," said the god, "must be the gem of the universe; for my queen I will create one that shall be the greatest gem of the sea," and for her he created the pearl' (325-26).

Rock-crystals.—The use of rock-crystal for purposes of divination, which dates from ancient times, is a fascinating subject. Instances of 'scrying' are to be found as early as classical Greece and Rome. The Achaians 'used a mirror to divine diseases or to learn whether there was danger of sudden death' (177). Pausanius tells us of a sacred well with its oracle of the magic mirror, in front of the Temple of Demeter, or Ceres, at Patras, which answered questions touching diseases. In Lucian's description of the palace of the Moon-King we have a similar well with a large mirror, where one could hear and see everything passing in the world (*ibid.*). A god of the ancient Mexicans saw in a magic mirror everything that happened in the world (178). Helenus, the Trojan soothsayer, foretold the downfall of Troy by a magic sphere of stone mentioned in the Orphic poem "Lithica" (*ibid.*). We learn from Joseph's story (*Genesis,* xliv, 1-5) that a silver cup was used for divination among the primitive Hebrews; and a golden ball was used by 'the Magi, followers of Zoroaster,' in their incantations (179). Roger Bacon made a marvellous 'glass' in which events happening at far-distant places were mirrored (182-83).

The *jām* (cup) of Jamshed, with which every student of Persian literature is familiar, and which, curiously enough, is not mentioned by Kunz, obviously belongs to this class.

It will be noticed that divination was not done by crystals alone. Besides cups or balls of gold and silver, polished spheres or cubes of stone such as beryl, surfaces of water, boys' fingernails, etc., were often used for the purpose. Dr. Dee, the famous charlatan of Queen Elizabeth's time, used several articles for scrying, a polished slab of black stone, obsidian, among the number.

Among remarkable crystals may be mentioned the following:

(1) Crystal globe, 2¼ inches in diameter, surmounting the sceptre of the Scottish regalia (183).

(2) Dr. Dee's Crystal, of cairngorm, or 'smoky-quartz', now preserved in the British Museum (190).

(3) 'A crystal ball, one of the largest perfect spheres ever produced, has been made from rock-crystal of Madagascar. It is a very perfect sphere and of faultless material.' Diameter, 6⅛ inches; price, $ 20,000 (217).

(4-6) Three fine crystals in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York: (*a*) Apparently perfect. Diameter, 5½ inches. (*b*) Not entirely perfect. Diameter, 6½ inches. (*c*) Fine crystal ball, of wonderful purity. An ideally perfect sphere on account of very precise cutting. Diameter, 4-11/16 inches (219).

(7) One of the largest and most perfect crystal balls is in the 'Grüne Gewolbe' (Dresden). Weight, 15 German pounds; diameter, 6-2/3 inches; price, $10,000 (in 1780). It was used for purposes of augury (223).

(8) The Currahmore Crystal. Slightly larger than an orange, with a silver ring encircling it at the middle. It cures cattle of all distempers. Supposed to have come from the Holy Land. (223).

(9) 'An exceptionally fine specimen of Aztec work is a skull carved out of rock-crystal. It weighs 475¼ ounces Troy, and measures 8¼ inches in width' (101). See illustration of this rock-crystal skull (Ancient Mexican) (now in British Museum, London) on p. 100 of Kunz.

(To be continued)

Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E., LITT. D., ETC.

3 volumes, Arthur Probsthain, Publisher. London,

I.

THIS long expected report is the official account of the excavations carried out at the site Mohenjo-Daro, mound of the dead, by the archaeological department of the Government of India between the years 1922 to 1927. Its publication in 1931, though it might strike one as being somewhat belated, cannot from what it incorporates be regarded as having been brought out tardily. The significance of what has been laid bare by the excavations at this site, it will be some considerable time before we can claim to understand in full. But it is reasonable that all the material in this archaeological work of the first importance should be made available for this very purpose, for study and investigation, as early as it is possible for those concerned to do. Though the report has taken about four years' time, the five years' excavations preceding it did exhibit much that required very careful study and analysis before the results could be indicated even in tentative inferences. The report therefore is quite worthy of the great labour that it has involved, almost ten years' labour in the study, and five years' work at actual excavation. Of the three volumes, the third is devoted purely to illustrations, and the first two volumes are taken up with the report with some of the illustrations that are very material to the understanding of the report itself. The plates themselves count 164 not including plans and maps in colours, and the report itself is spread over the two volumes in 32 chapters. The first volume takes us through the first 19 chapters, and the second contains chapters 20 to 32 with appendices and the necessary index. The two volumes together make 716 pages. The first eight chapters of the report are by Sir John Marshall himself, and deal with the general results of his study of the excavations, and cover a little over a hundred pages. The subsequent chapters are arranged by area-units in which excavations were

carried out, sometimes by different officers of the department from period to period. The remaining chapters are devoted to the treatment of the various topics in which the results of the excavation could be dealt with to purpose. The arrangement appears to us to be logical and quite satisfactory. An excellent map and a well-prepared plan of the sites accompany the first volume along with 14 of the plates and ten figures. Volume 2 similarly contains 41 figures to illustrate, but contains none of the plates proper. They are all consigned to the third volume.

The printing of the work undertaken by Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the well-known Oriental bookseller and publisher of Great Russel Street, London, is a model of high grade printing in the three sumptuous volumes. As printer and publisher of the report, he has done his best to make the volumes quite worthy of the importance that they possess at present, and of the far-reaching results that this publication is likely to lead to.

Egypt and Near Asia have hitherto been regarded as the ancient sites which required the energies of the achaeologist and his confreres as unearthing the early history of man carrying us to a period in the comparatively remote past. The special importance that these ancient sites enjoyed as such is now shared to the fullest extent by the area generally included in the term Indus Valley. The Indus Valley Civilization, even though its excavations and the interpretation of the excavated material have not gone their full course, has established its place alongside of the archaeological explorations, Egyptian and the Near Eastern. What the future has to bring to us by further systematic exploration on this and other sites which ought really to be carried out on the large scale that the actual importance of the work demands, is more than we can say at present. The work that this report incorporates gives enough promise that what the future holds for us is bound to be of the greatest value.

The site concerned covers a comparatively small area of about 240 acres in a part of Sind, which, even at this time, is described as the garden of Sind. The site is on what is called an island locally between the main river Indus and the loop formed by one of its principal canals on the west called the western Nara. The site is about 25 miles from Larkhana, and is actually reached from the railway station at Dokri about seven miles to the end of the site. The whole area is a level plain, but the mounds rose to a

height of some seventy feet, and thus proved a prominent feature of the whole area. The general character of the locality is so destructive that the very mounds have undergone disintegration to a very great extent. The first destroying agency is the erosion caused by the floods of the river and the canal. But the dryness of the climate and the saline nature of the soil help to cause disintegration and flaking away in those short periods when the atmosphere is charged with humidity. This is visible even now in the encrustation of saline material upon the surfaces recently laid bare. If a similar state of things continued in the past, anything else is hardly necessary to understand the vicissitudes that have actually taken place over the whole area. But the very nature of the destructive work gives us a hint that other changes have taken place as well, and have contributed their own quota to this destructive work. There is more or less clear evidence that the rainfall in the fourth millennium and the third must have been far larger, though far from being abundant, than it happens to be at present. This is made clear to us by the fact that the builders of the cities, the older cities of Mohenjo-Daro, have used burnt brick for all the exposed parts, though they have used sun-dried bricks largely in work which was hidden from the surface, such as the parts that required filling, and the foundations, etc., that could be kept free from surface action. The very animals which come before us on the coins and the seals excavated, seem to be animals that flourish in damp jungly country. The number and disposition of the drains within the houses and in the streets would perhaps indicate more ample rain. These features of the locality may be capable of other interpretations, but a comparison with similar changes that are more clearly visible in old sites in the neighbouring areas of Baluchistan in a large number of cases, would support this inference, as the alternative explanations will not hold in respect of that locality. There are many bunds that are visible in the locality concerned, which were intended to function as dams for impounding and storing water. This would be unnecessary in a region when there is a plentiful and evenly distributed rainfall. They could be directly useful only in areas where the rainfall is somewhat larger than they happen to be at present in the area, and much less evenly distributed over the year. It is then that the inhabitants would feel the necessity for impounding the water and storing it for use in the more adverse seasons of the year. We know that Baluchistan itself must have been dried up in the period extending from the Chalcolithic age to the retreat of Alexander from India. Apart from the sufferings

of Alexander so graphically described, Nearchus has recorded a tradition that the armies of Cyrus two centuries before and those of the queen Semiramis of Assyria suffered severely on the soil of Baluchistan, which tradition supports the inference from the excavations in Sind.

If then there have been climatic changes of a striking character particularly as affecting the rainfall of the locality and consequently its fertility, it may be due to one of two causes. The first of these may be the moving up of the belt of the Atlantic rainstorms blowing across the Continent of Europe through Mid-Asia. In the last glacial age and the period immediately following, the storm-belt, which is now Central Europe and farther north, was actually the Mediterranean region and North Africa extending into Asia the southern part of which is now more or less a desert region up to the Ganges itself. These storms have still some little reach in this direction, and account for the winter rainfall at least in Baluchistan. Whether the changes in Sind are accountable to this cause does not seem quite so clear. The monsoon from the Bay seems to have had a much farther reach even in historical times, and that ought really speaking to have affected Sind more than the other. The winter rain in Sind is comparatively inconsiderable, and the highest rainfall in certain years is found to be due to the monsoons rather than to the winter. While the two may have combined to produce the change of climate, it is clear that the more important influence so far as Sind is concerned is rather the monsoon conditions than the distant Atlantic winter storms. This in a way is supported by what we find in Egypt and Mesapotamia in neither of which places have we any evidence that in the Chalcolithic age the rainfall was at all heavier. On the material available to us, definite conclusion in this matter would be difficult.

Another important feature of Sind is the change that has come over the river-system of the Indus. We have the evidence of Mussalman historians that in the period of the early Muhammadan invasions, Sind was watered by two rivers, the Indus in the west and the great Mihran, or as it is otherwise called Hakra or Wahinda, in the east of it. According to these early writers, the Mihran seems to have been regarded as the more important of the two. Both the Mihran, and the river Indus itself, have changed their courses rather widely. All that we can be certain about is that by the 14th century, the two large rivers

really ran their parallel courses and carried the waters of the Punjab rivers to the sea, even including the more eastern Ghaggar and Chitang. It is believed that the extraordinary storm-floods of the middle of the 14th century which was fairly world-wide actually brought about the great changes in the course of the Punjab rivers including even the drying up of the Hakra itself. We cannot be certain, nor is it necessary for us to assume, such extraordinary changes in the vast period between the chalcolithic age and the Muhammadan invasions. The ordinary changes due to the floods and the change in the course of the rivers taking place normally would be quite enough to explain the changes that we noticed. But, so far as the site of Mohenjo-Daro itself is concerned, the district surrounding it has not undergone much change during the period of five thousand years from the days of its great prosperity down to the present day. The existence of the two rivers and the fertility distributed over the country by these and their tributaries, would warrant the belief that the territory of Sind must have been much more fertile and wealthy than it is described to have been in the days of Alexander and his predecessors, the Achaemenid emperors of Persia. With a second river to carry the waters down, the Indus itself must have been a much less destructive river then, than it actually is at the present day. Even so, it would be impossible to believe that the floods and inundation characteristic of the Indus region did not exist at the time. But the constant inundation of the river brings about the raising in the level of the country surrounding, to some extent, while the bed of the river itself rises much more largely. Of course, as we noticed elsewhere, the process is a slow one, but it is a persistently steady one. The fact that we find brick remains buried more than 30 feet below the earth would surely confirm this assumption.

The site of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro must have been far more extensive than it is at present. We can notice on the plan six or seven separate groups of buildings, and perhaps, when cities existed, they were not altogether all that constituted Mohenjo-Daro. The area must have been vaster, and the narrowing of the area may be due entirely to erosion by the periodical floods. The total area is separated by a street running east and west leaving a comparatively smaller section to the south, and the far larger number of these sections to the north of it. There is a similar one, a street or a road that cuts across almost the middle from north to south with a comparatively slight inclination from the north-west to the south-east. This shows a deep indent all along

its course, and is taken to have been the old bed of the river, though it is found to be really no more than the old street damaged and widened by the rain and the flood water. This is confirmed by a number of parallel streets that further excavations have laid bare. Three or four bits excavated to the east of the north-south road are marked the Dk. area, while to the west of it, there were three large areas excavated. The one to the south of the east-west road is called Hr area, which is perhaps the largest excavated site. Just to the north of it across the road is a comparatively large excavated section called the Vs area more or less at the angle between the north-south and the east-west roads. To the west of it, but separated by a road, is a comparatively large area excavated also, which is called the Stupa mound containing a number of sites, one section containing the big bath of the bath section and another one to the east of it is called the Stupa section, and so on. Of course the names given in this section relate to one of the later sites in Mohenjo-Daro really. The excavations carried out so far indicate clearly that the extent of the area varied with actual cities at different times, low tumulai, or prehistoric sites, or pot-sherds strewn over the whole surface. The existing site probably was reduced to its present dimensions owing to erosion caused by floods. Whether it was a walled city has to be left in doubt as from the fourth layer upwards the site shows shrinkage of area indicating a growing diminution in the size of the successive cities. If walls existed, we may have to look for them in the area covered by the fourth layer, some 25 to 30 feet below the present level. But we cannot carry our excavations at that depth to make sure, on account of the sub-soil water which comes to within 15 feet of the surface in winter, in which season alone it is possible to carry out excavations. From the level of the sub-soil water reached, up to the height of the mounds as they existed till now, seven strata have been found. In the three topmost strata there is not only a diminution of the size, but there are also other signs of decadence. Between these three and the next lower, the fourth stratum, there is a break which would indicate that the fourth city had been destroyed and remained in ruins for some considerable time. These seven strata fall into three classes; the first three belonging to the late period, the next three belonging to the middle, and the last to the early period, the classification proceeding all along so far on the basis of the buildings that have been unearthed rather than by the other finds. But in regard to the finds of antiquities, there is the possible danger that the minor ones at any rate could have been washed down to a

lower level by the process of erosion making any strict classification a matter of difficulty. In regard to the levels themselves, we cannot regard them as uniform at different depths, as certain parts seem to have been artificially raised for specific purposes, such as is clearly noticeable in the Stupa mound. The Buddhist monastery is raised by an artificial terrace of unburnt brick to a height of over twenty feet from the surrounding level. The discovery of this site was made by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1922. The only structure that was noticeable was the Buddhist stupa and the monastery-building of bricks taken out from the older layers; but further digging soon showed that there were layers below of far greater antiquity. The discovery of some seals by chance showed that the locality must have been contemporary with that of Harapa where similar seals had been discovered the year before in the carrying out of excavations there. So they advanced step by step to lay bare a certain number of sites so that it became necessary to extend operations, and in 1925-1926, a number of officers of the department were detailed to carry on the work, each being allotted a particular part of it. The finds accumulated and the work was carried over an extensive area. A whole time officer with experience of exploration work in Mesapotamia was now needed. Mr. Ernest Mackay was appointed. Separate reports of these excavations have been published in the previous annual volumes of the department.

BUILDINGS.

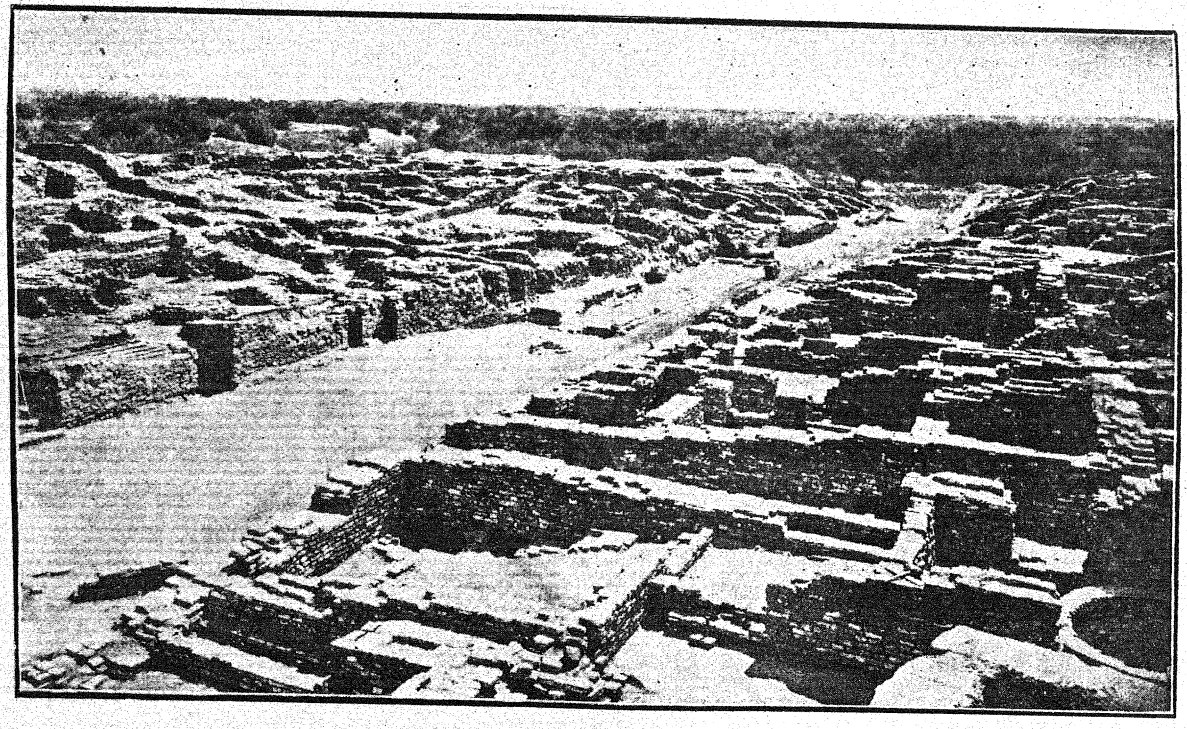
The first view of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in their present state of partial excavation, says Sir John Marshall, 'reminds one of a modern working town in Lancashire, because of the wide expanse of the brick structures laid bare, plain and completely devoid of ornamentation and indicating stark utilitarianism in the views of the builders. This impression is heightened by the size of the bricks used, which happen to be far larger than the bricks used in modern times in the area and of about the size of English bricks used in Lancashire." It is a well-known feature that Indian architects revelled in ornamentation. In contrast with this feature is the complete absence of such in the buildings of Mohenjo-Daro. There is clear evidence of the destruction of the town by fire in certain stages. Destruction by fire means destruction of all wood work if any existed. There is again evidence of wood work, having formed part of these structures. The inference therefore is possible that, at any rate, the better buildings had a

considerable amount of wood work and of ornamentation in the wood work which had been destroyed by fire. This is only a possibility. As it is, however, it seems as though the buildings were all bare of art. The character of the construction of these buildings, however, seems quite excellent. The builders of Mohenjo-Daro used good burnt bricks, and they knew unburnt ones as well. In Mohenjo-Daro itself, they used both. In all the exposed parts of the buildings, burnt bricks are used exclusively. Unburnt bricks were reserved for filling in foundations, and for use of course in the interior and unexposed parts of the walls. The bricks were found to be of three sizes, the smallest of which was 10.5 x 5.5 x 2.5; the largest being 11.75 x 5.25 x 2.5, the third variety being 11 x 5.5 x 2.75. These were put together, laid in mud generally, but when more strength was called for in mud and gypsom mortar. Gypsom alone as a joining agent is used in parts where particular strength was required, such as for the hearting of the walls or the pointing of joints to keep out moisture. There is evidence of the use of lime, but that seems to have been used so far only in combination with gypsom. In the ordinary structures, the walls were vertical both inside and out. Large buildings with heavier walls show a batter on the outer side of varying degrees of declination. The inner surface of the walls seems to have been coated with plaster, either by mud or by mud and straw combined. Walls were also left open with brick facing. Only they were finished by rubbing down the bricks, as it has sometimes been done in mediaeval and modern Hindu buildings. The walls seem to be more massive than was actually required, which may have been due to the danger from floods. Floors were paved with brick, and laid flat wherever there was not much chance of great wear. In exposed parts however they were laid on edge to stand a great deal more of wear and tear, as one often finds in buildings in the delta districts of South India. In the ruins, it is only ground floor chambers that we have remains of. They give evidence of doors and windows for admitting light and air, as well as providing passages. We come across interior windows only, but usually no windows on the outer walls. Both doorways and windows seem to have been built of wood, all of which has disappeared by fire. We come across corbelled arches in the outer drains, and it is likely such were in use for passages and possibly windows as well. The real arch has not so far been found. Staircases leading upstairs are known, the steps being narrow and even steep. The ordinarily large buildings even, are provided with wells which are generally circular, though a few instances of

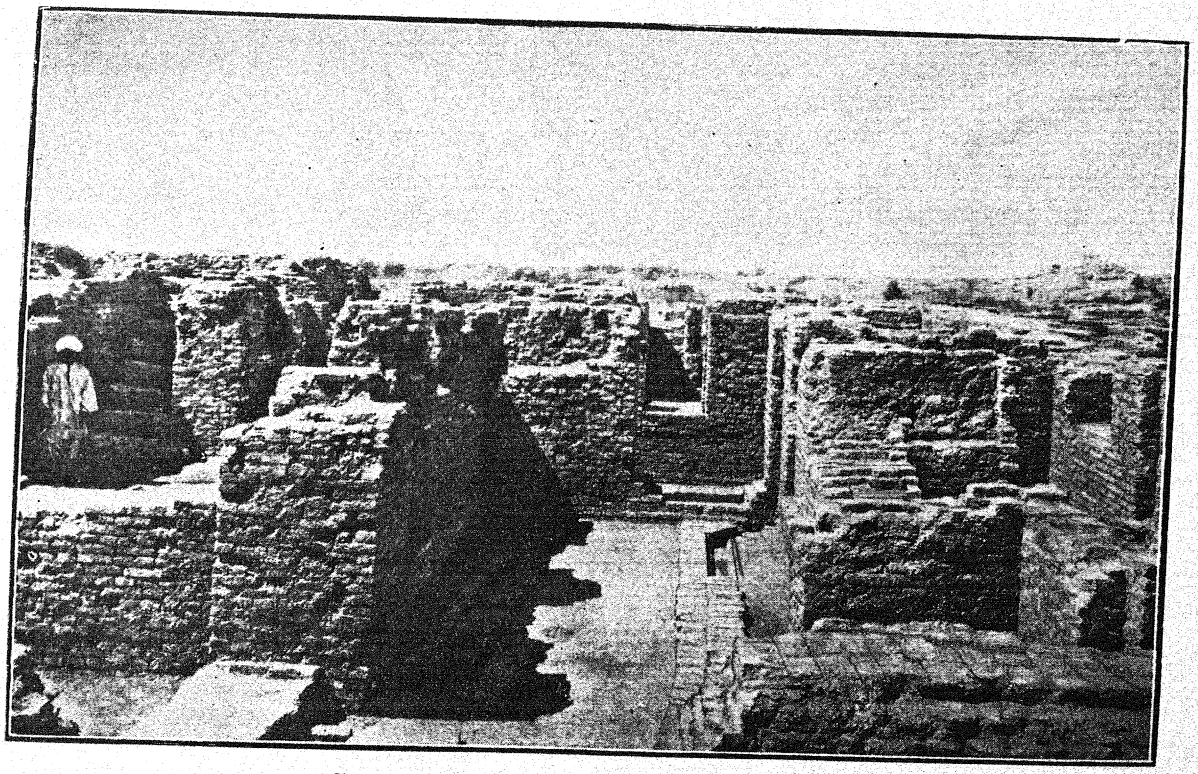
oval wells have come to notice. Private houses sometimes provided even wells for public use. These are being found in a room next adjoining the street, to which access was given by separate doorways. In spite of the fact that a very large number of houses have been unearthed, no definite instances have come to light of fire-places and things corresponding thereto in any of the buildings in Mohenjo-Daro. In two or three instances where such were suspected, the examples are regarded as quite doubtful. Two special features of these houses are worth notice. The first is the provision of drains and the other bathrooms. The bathrooms are usually well paved and provided with drains connected with the street system. These drains are found both on the ground floor, and even on the upper floor wherever these existed. The horizontal drains are all of them built of brick, while the vertical ones are of terracotta pipes with closely fitted spigot and faucet joinings, these being protected by special structures of brick work or let into walls. The flues for throwing out rubbish are found built into the walls leading to the bins in the street. Public dust-bins were provided in the streets, and the street drains themselves were constructed with as much care. While there seems to have been an admirable system of drainage, both public and private, these drains were led into soak-pits, and there is nothing to show that they were carried off beyond these pits.

In regard to roofs, they seem to have been all flat, laid on stout timbers covered with planking and beaten earth, with a protective course of brick or matting or some other material, as in use in modern times even. Though flat roofs were general, it must not be taken for granted that there were no other forms of roofs. There seems to be evidence for presuming the existence of corbelled spires as otherwise the massive foundations are inexplicable. The common feature *Sikara* may have existed then, as this feature has been traced in its completeness at the earliest period to which we could carry architectural history. That perfection could not have been attained without previous experience in the building of it.

The buildings so far unearthed can be divided into three classes. The first are what may be regarded undoubtedly as dwelling houses. The second constitute larger buildings, the purpose for which they were intended being not yet quite clearly determined. The third class consist of what may have to be regarded as public baths. These may have had a religious cha-



General view of excavations in Section B, from north.
(Reproduced by the kind courtesy of Mr. Arthur Probsthain—Publisher.)



Court 69 in House XIII, looking west.

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racter, though the purpose seems secular from what appears of the details. Naturally dwelling houses, large and small, constitute the bulk of the buildings so far excavated. These houses range from those with only two rooms to those containing as many as 25 rooms. There may have been more. The report gives full details of two with plain and oblique projections as well. The general plan, however, seems to be that the houses open out into the streets with a single entrance generally, but there are those with three entrances so far known. In the ordinary buildings, the walls are vertical, but larger buildings intended to carry heavy upper floors are given a batter outside, the inclination of which is more or less according to the strength required. It is the plain walls that abut on the street. But doorways or passages from the street lead into the courtyards of varying sizes, and the chambers or rooms in the houses are ranged round these courtyards in varying sizes for the various purposes for which they were intended. The rooms are lighted as a rule by windows opening into these courtyards directly or through other intervening chambers or rooms. It is rarely that one comes across windows on the outside walls opening into the streets. Staircases go up either from the courtyards, from one or other of the vestibules into which the outer passages open. The courtyards are found paved with bricks laid flat in certain places and edgewise in others. The latter style of construction is adopted wherever there is room for doorway. The rooms upstairs seem to have been designed commodiously with bath chambers from which water could be carried by drains closed or open, and led down by means of earthernware pipes let into the walls, or brought down directly with encased brick works to the courtyard below and let into the drains there. These drains carry the water into the soak-pits in the couryard itself in the case of some houses. In the case of others they are led into the courtyard drains which carry off the sullage across the house to the street mains, or to soak pits, or soak wells that are provided in the streets.

Two larger houses are taken for detailed discussion. One of them, house numbered VIII, has a frontage of 85 feet and of a depth of 97 feet. Its surrounding walls are as much as 4 to 5 feet thick with a slight batter on the outside. The ground floor rooms seem generally intended to serve household purposes, such as the kitchen, bathrooms, store rooms, etc., with a chamber for wells in the larger house. In some of them, the wells are in a chamber close to the street from which a passage opens to the well. Such

wells seem intended not only for the use of the house, but even for others in the street. The living and sleeping rooms were generally in the first floor. In the buildings that have been excavated, we have evidence of rearrangements by adaptation of older houses to newer purposes. Some of the rooms are filled in as a measure of protection against floods. This happens to be the case in the case of rooms on the ground floor, corresponding to the residential rooms in the first floor. In the case of these upstairs rooms again, there is the disposition round the courtyard of the house with projecting balconies, by means of which rooms could be entered. There is evidence of timber having been used largely in these constructions, and it is the burnt timber that accounts for the abundnace of charcoal discovered among the debris. That these were destroyed by fire is also borne witness to by the burnt-up walls. The interior walls in some cases were plastered over with mud about three inches thick consisting of earthern plaster mixed with straw, cut small. That is just exactly the way they prepare the mud for walls in mud-built houses even now in the delta country, even of the south. But the walls thus plastered were finished off by smoothening, or by a final coat of mud plaster. In certain cases where fire had been at work, the fire has transformed the plaster into terra-cotta. The use of timber is found in the ceilings where they are actually found as timber in some cases. The Himalayan deodar and a kind of local sisu seem to have been the ones much used. The deodar could be floated down the river, while the other one is probably exclusively local. House No. XIII is a much a larger one containing as many as 28 rooms in all. Of these there are four fair-sized courts, ten comparatively small rooms, three stair-cases, with porticos leading to a well chamber on the ground floor. Its opening is on one of the bigger streets, and has three entrances. It is in this house that we find a large number of rooms on the ground floor filled with debris to provide a solid plinth for the rooms upstairs as a protection against floods. This seems to be the general feature of the buildings now laid bare showing that these were built by the adaptation of older buildings to newer requirements, one of the more urgent of which is protection against floods.

Attention is drawn to a certain number of larger buildings—buildings larger than the one above. They are more spacious and more elaborate in structure. It is matter for doubt whether they were houses like the others, or were intended for another purpose. Of course in Mesapotamia the resemblance between palaces and

temples is close, and residential houses and temples were like each other in plan and general arrangements. It may possibly be that it was so in the Indus valley as well. But we have no definite evidence leading to the existence of temples, and it may be that the Indus valley people had no temples for public worship, as the Minoans do not appear to have had such temples. This conclusion seems the more probable as no trace of any image or image-base has so far been discovered, though we know that the religion of these people was iconic, and the images were housed in chapels not meant for public use. There may have been rooms set apart for private use as places for worship, such as was the case in Minoan palaces, and as is the case in Hindu houses of to-day. A few pillared halls have been unearthed, one of which is as large as about 80 feet square. The hall seems to be, as in the Kanheri Durbar hall, divided into long corridors interspersed with low benches with even seats. In Buddhistic structures, they were halls for assembly, and the raised seats were for the monks to sit on, the corridors between being more or less passages for ingress and egress. The arrangements in these Mohenjo-Daro buildings seem to have been somewhat similar. One noticeable feature here is the chief seat is at right angles to these corridors, and the platforms between corridors provide only two rows of seats. The corridors were apparently paved substantially, the seats being formed by mud-plaster prepared in the same way as the wall plaster. They might even have been finished with wood. This would account for the complete disappearance of these seats while the corridors remain intact in many cases.

We next come to the great bath, which is one of the peculiar features of Mohenjo-Daro. The plan of this bath is a large quadrangle in the middle, with verandahs on all the four sides. On three out of these four sides, however, there were various gallaries and rooms built just behind the enclosing verandahs. On the south side, the verandah constitutes a long gallery with a small chamber at each corner. On the eastern side there is a single range of small chambers. On the north are a group of several halls and fair-sized rooms. In the middle of the open quadrangle is a swimming bath measuring 39 X 23 feet with a depth of 8 feet. There is a flight of steps leading to the bath on either end, and at the foot of the steps is a low platform for the convenience of bathers. The bath is connected with a well in one of the rooms adjoining, and there seems to have been arrangement for running off the waste water, through a covered drain

near the south-west corner. This is a magnificent passage with a corbelled roof, 6′6″ high. Sir John Marshall thinks that this was intended to run off the waste water. It seems rather doubtful whether the corbelled covered path 6′ 6″ was required for merely running off waste water from a tank of 39 x 23 x 8 feet. We know of a sluice of that height that was provided for a tank here in South India, the bund of which ran sixteen miles. The covered passage probably was intended to serve another purpose, and may have been utilised to run off the waste water also. There is evidence of the construction on the northern side of this tank where the buildings appear to have been transformed by reducing the lower rooms to serve as solid plinths, other rooms being built up above, to reach which a staircase had been provided. It is clear that the great bath had an upper story, and the usual appurtenances of drains descending from it. It was surrounded by a fenestrated wall which seems to have been continued on the upper floor also. The quantity of charcoal unearthed would show that a great deal of timber had gone into the structure. We can form no idea of the whole building as it looked, as nothing is left of these except the very bricks. Except for a seal from Harapa, which gives a picture of a building, probably of wood, with trellis work at the sides, etc., we have recovered nothing that would enable us to reconstruct the plan of any of these buildings. But that the buildings were not entirely bare of ornamental work is made clear to us by pieces of perforated lattices in alabaster, somewhat similar to the perforated screens of Kushan and Gupta ages. The existence of these would necessarily mean much else that went with it, and perhaps all the ornamental work may have been either structures like these, or were entirely of wood work and therefore easily destroyed.

The great bath is remarkable for the solidity of its construction. It measures north to south 180 feet, and from east to west 108. The outer walls are 7 to 8 feet in thickness, with a batter of about 6 degrees at the base. The inner walls are about half as thick. In the construction of this bath itself, the lining of the tank was made of finely traced brick laid in gypsum and mortar, three to four inches in thickness. At the back of these was a course of bitumen, an inch thick. Behind this was another wall of burnt brick. Then came a packing of crude brick finished off again with a solid rectangle of burnt brick structure with short cross walls between it and the verandah foundations to counteract outward pressure. This elaborate structure was intended to

make the tank water-tight, and a more effective construction with the available material could hardly have been thought of. It has stood five thousand years. Adjoining this, as it were, are rooms and buildings which seem to have constituted what is nowadays called a *hammam*. As far as it has been excavated, it consists of rectangular platforms of solid brick, each of the size of a small room, about five feet in height. There is a series of vertical chases sunk in the sides. Between the platforms are narrow passages crossing each other at right angles, on the floors of which were found cinders and charcoal. These seem clearly intended as ceiled rooms with hypocaust flues formed on the edges in the sides. That this was the nature of the buildings is confirmed by another building among the ruins. The building contains a room the floor of which is supported by dwarf walls, and shows in the superstructure a vertical flue for heating the room. Whether these were actually *hammams* or no, it gives us undoubted evidence of a hypocaustic system, which takes us very near to *hammams*.

A study of the houses in these ruins shows clearly that at Mohenjo-Daro there must have been a town of a large size with a flourishing population who could indulge in the luxuries of a well-provided town, with good sanitary arrangements, and even the luxury of hot air baths in some at least of the houses, if not in the public baths. The laying out of the roads and streets, the provision of the drains, etc., would indicate a civic organisation quite modern in their character. The few halls that have so far been unearthed while they do exhibit some resemblances to the halls of the Buddhist congregation that we know of in the later Buddhist period, betray features which may make them halls of assembly for secular purposes. If they were so, these may prove to be assembly halls for the meeting of people for common purposes including even civic administration. It would be nothing surprising if further excavations on this site or elsewhere should confirm this surmise.

SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN,
phil.-hit. Klasse, 1930, No. XXVI (also edited separately)
p. 557-568. (Abbreviated: SPAW).

NOTES BY
PROFESSOR OTTO STEIN OF PRAGUE,

From German and other Oriental Journals.

The sad situation of the chronology of ancient India cannot be better illustrated than by the fact, that there is no unanimous opinion on the date of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism. This question forms the theme of a paper by Hermann Jacobi.

According to the traditional and corrected dates of Buddha's and Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, Buddha died some years before Mahāvīra, while the Buddhist Canon says that Mahāvīra deceased not long before Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Jacobi tries to remove this contradiction by starting from the traditional date 543 B.C. for Buddha's, and 526 B.C. for Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. The Buddhists believe, that Chandragupta ascended the throne 162 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, so that the latter event would be dated 484 B.C., assuming the 'earliest possible' date for Chandragupta's accession to the throne 322 B.C. ($322 + 162 = 484$). According to Vikramasinghe (see Geiger's transl. of the Mahāvamsa p. XXVIIIff.) there existed in Ceylon about the year 1015 A.D. an era, beginning with 483 B.C., while in the middle of the 11th century A.D. the traditional era, beginning with 543 B.C., can be proved in use. The common Jain tradition puts Chandragupta's accession to the throne 215 years A.V. (Hemachandra, Pariśiṣṭaparvan VIII, 339); and two or three generations earlier, the Kahāvalī by Bhadreśvara (preserved in a single manuscript only) ascribes the event to 155 years after Mahāvīra's death, so that Mahāvīra died 477 B.C. In the Sāmagama Sutta (Majjh. Nik. II, 1, p. 243ff), Pāsādika S. (Dīgha N. II, p. 117ff.) and in the Saṅgīti S. (ibid. 209ff.) we are told that Mahāvīra died in Pāvā shortly before Buddha came from Pāvā to Kusinārā. There exist, however, some differences about the persons and the contents of the speech held by the Buddha; but greater

importance must be attributed to the Mahāparin S., where the Buddha does not refer to the schism among the Jain community as he does in the sources mentioned just before. As the Mahāparin S. is the earliest source on the last year of Buddha's life, the three other versions must be dated in a later period. At a time, when they had been added to the Canon, the Canon came to be fixed for the first time; that means, when about 150 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Canon came to be fixed. In the Jain tradition we hear about schisms, but there has been none after the death of Mahāvīra; the alleged schism after his decease is rather an invention of the Buddhists. As J. Charpentier (Ind. Ant. XLIII, 1914, p. 128) has seen, Mahāvīra died in Majjhamā Pāvā, the Pavapuri of to-day; the Buddhists believed that place identical with Pāvā in the Sakya-country; their account is apocryphical, and therefore the dates 484 B.C. for Buddha's, and 477 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death are the base for the following enquiry.

In the Mahāparin S. we are told that Ajātaśatru, whose capital was Rājagṛha, wanted to attack the Vṛjis, and for that he founded, as a base for the operations, Pāṭaligrāma, which, however, is called a *nagara*, a proof for the late origin of the story. Ajātaśatru sent his minister Vassakāra to the Buddha, who was staying in Rājagṛha, to ascertain from the Buddha his views about the Vṛjis, with whom he knew him to be on friendly terms. The Buddha did not reply in a direct form; from the questions to his favourite pupil Ānanda and from the latter's answers on the seven virtues of the Vṛjis, the minister Vassakāra came to know that their state was in good order and that the Buddha did not believe a war against them would be successful. The further account of the Mahāparin S. does not allude to the political affairs between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjis, dealing only with the last journey of the Buddha to Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛjis, and with the death of the Lord, which must have happened in Vaisākha.

In the Jain Canon the war of Ajātaśatru against the Vṛjis, with whom the nine Mallas and nine Licchavis were confederated, was successful, the capital Vaiśālī, however, not having been conquered. The latter event is told in the Nirayāvaḷī Sūtra in the following form: Vehalla, one of the eleven brothers of Ajātaśatru, and possessing the *gandhahastin* and the necklace as the royal insignia, took refuge in Vaiśālī with king Chetaka, because he did not want to give those insignia to his brother Ajātaśatru unless he

was given in exchange the half of the realm. Chetaka, siding with Vehalla, declared war, in which all the ten brothers of Ajātaśatru were killed. The last part of the war is not related in that Sūtra; but in the Āvaśyaka Kathānakas, the legend of Kūlavalaya (cf. Abhidhānarājendrakośa s. v. Kūlavālaya) states that the conquering of the town of Vaiśālī was announced to be dependent on the love of the monk Kūlavālaya with the *gaṇikā* of Magadha.

This view of Jacobi has been endorsed by the remarks of W. Schubring,[1] who underlines that the Viyāhapaññati (being the older name of the Bhagavatī) and the Nirāyavalī Sūtra give relations of different phases of the same event, namely of the conquering of Vaiśālī. On the other hand, the results at which Jacobi has arrived were doubted and refused by A. B. Keith.[2] He shows that the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne is placed according to the Jain tradition 255 years before the Vikrama era, i.e., in 313 or 312 B.C., while Jacobi took 322 B.C. as the earliest possible year. The scepticism in discrediting the Buddhist accounts, that Buddha died after Mahāvīra, 'is quite inconsistent with the faith placed by Professor Jacobi in the tradition as to the dates of the Nirvāṇas' The differences between the Suttantas show only the different handing down of the same tradition; nor is it proved that the Mahāparin S. is the oldest and more trustworthy source, the less, as Jacobi himself (p. 562 = 8 of the reprint) attributes to the Mahāparin S. a much later origin than the time of the war between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjis; further, there is no proof that the news of Mahāvīra's death reached the Buddha before his own Nirvāṇa. The three Suttantas agree with the Mahāparin S. in that respect that the Buddha believed his doctrine fit to prevent schism in his community. That there was no schism in the Jain community is contradicted by the rivalry of Gośāla, by the opposition raised by his son-in-law Jamāli, and by the opposition of Tīsaputta. The confusion of the two Pāvās in Buddhist tradition is not only independent from the time of Mahāvīra's death, but it has not been proved at all that the Jain tradition is earlier, though Jacobi dates the three Suttantas to be incorporated into the Canon in the 2nd or 3rd century after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Nowhere does the Jain tradition contradict the Buddhist by asserting that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha. 'Professor Jacobi has endeavoured on the basis of the Jain and Buddhist traditions to

1. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1932, col. 143|45.
2. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies VI, 4, 1932, 859|66.

throw some light on the political development of Magadha in the time of the great teachers, but it may seriously be doubted if we can make anything very satisfactory out of these confused and obviously biassed records.'

In 1922 Heinrich Lüders[3] published some manuscript leaves, found in Eastern Turkistan, which brought some interesting results for the history and geography of that country. So he found the name of a king Vasuyaśas of the 6th century A.D. probably, of Suvarṇapuṣpa of the 7th century A.D., of Suvarṇadeva of Kuci.[4] That was the first occurrence of the name of the country, which is found in many other manuscripts, deciphered now by Prof. Lüders; unsettled is the time of king Artep. Besides that, those leaves threw many gleams of light on the geography, literature, religion of Turkestan and its connection with Indian culture. In his new contribution Lüders[5] enriches our knowledge of the literary activities in the basin of the Tarim. The main contents of the paper-manuscripts, which were found at Qyzil and can be dated on palaeographical grounds in the late 6th or beginning of 7th century A.D., are Buddhist Stotras, written in Sanskrit and classical metres. From letters of semi-official characters we get information about the kings and other persons as well as cultural conditions. There is an invitation of the *samgha* of the *śrāvaka* to a banquet of sweets by the Kucīśvara or Kucimahārāja Tottika and his queen Svayamprabhā. This hitherto unknown king belongs probably to the 7th century A.D. As in a second group of leaves, the script of which must be earlier than the 7th century A.D., there occurs a king Suvarṇapuṣpa, Lüders points out in connection with a story told by Hüan-Tsang, that this Suvarṇapuṣpa must be an earlier king than the father of Suvarṇadeva, his namesake of the 7th century (see above). In the leaves, published 1922, there were found the names of three countries on the Northern border of the Tarim basin, (in the order from West to East): Hecyuka (see above note 3), Bharuka, Kuci; according to the new materials the next country in the East was Agni, i.e., A-k'i-ni, U-k'-i, in the historical Chinese literature Yen-k'i, the Qaraśahr of modern times. Bharuka reminds the reader of

3. Zur Geschichte and Geographie Ostturkestans. SPAW 1922, 243 ff.

4. Cf. P. Pelliot, T'oung pao XXII, 126 ff., who identified Hecyuka with the modern Uc-Turfan. Suvarṇapuṣpa was the father of Suvarṇadeva, who came to reign between 618 and 630 A.D., cf. SPAW 1930, 25.

5. Weitere Beitraege zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan. SPAW 1930, 7-64 (also separately published).

Bharukacchā, of which it has been probably a colony, mentioned not only by the Chinese pilgrim Hüan-Tsang, but, according to Sir Aurel. Stein, existing among the people up to this day. From a comparison of kindred stories in Jain and Buddhist literature Prof. Lüders gives a survey of the wandering and alterations of a story on the one, and the convincing proof of the identity of Ho-lao-lo-kia with Roruka or Rauruka of the Sauvīra on the other hand. The original story is to be placed in Western India, and was in India already intermingled; so the hero of the Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna (Divyāvad. XXXVII, p. 544ff.) was changed by mistake with Udāyana, but his correct name has to be Udrāyaṇa.

Further to the East of the Tarim basin the results of the second expedition of Sven Hedin (1899-1902) carry us to Loulan, in Kharoṣṭhī-documents called Kroraimna or Kroraina, in Khotanese Raurata. This state was, as we are told in a new publication by Albert Herrmann,[6] independent till 77 B.C.; since that time it had been a Chinese military station till 330 A.D. It is situated eastwards from Agni (see above), on the cross-point of 90° E.L., and 40° N.L. In the neighbourhood lays the Lobnor, to-day a salt-marsh. The researches by Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein (1906, 1915-16), by the Buddhist priest Tatshibana (1910) have brought to light much information on geology, hydrography, geography, history and the culture of that province. With the spreading of the Buddhism over Turkistan since the Kuṣāṇa-period, Indian culture, of course of Buddhist make, was introduced in Loulan. The testimonies speak in very clear language. There are wooden tablets—in Kharoṣṭhī script, known already from Niya, eleven manuscripts on paper, two on silk. And as the country from the Niya river up to the Lobnor was under the rule of the same king of Loulan, in his capital of Yü-ni, the modern Tsharhlik, there occur in the documents of both the sites the same titles, the same regnal years, the same names of kings. The contents of the documents show again in their majority Buddhist religious texts; two of the manuscripts on paper are written by a Buddhist, one in Sanskrit language, the other, in Tocharean language, uses Brahmi characters. About 260 A.D. the Chinese general So Man founded a colony of soldiers and agriculturists, which is to be identified with the ruins on the Kurukdarya-canal. Here Sven Hedin saw a watch-tower, which was really a Stūpa, to-day reduced by wind-erosion to a height of some 40 feet; once, however, rising to 56 feet. From this main Stūpa, in a West-North-West direction, are to be found many smaller Stūpas, and

at a distance of about 8¾ miles Sven Hedin's servant Oerdek detected eight houses, the main building of which is a small Buddhist sanctuary, a square of 22-23 feet.

The rich carvings show the influence of the Gandhāra art, represented by Buddha figures, Hellenistic ornaments, and an Indo-Hellenistic capital. As the residence of the king has not yet been unearthed, future excavations promise further links between India and this remote colony of Indian culture.

From a literary point of view as well as from that of historical trustworthiness the question of the Purānas forms an unsolved riddle. The difficulty in settling this important question lay not the least in the huge mass which is to be mastered for scientific research. Indologists owe great obligation to Professor W. Kirfel,[7] of the University of Bonn, for his self-sacrificing work by which he has done the first[8] pushing forward into that ticket of Purāṇa-studies. His book 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (Bonn 1927), confining itself to the five constituents of a Purāṇa, has shown that already the *pañcalakṣaṇa* go back to an earlier collection of different texts, so that each Purāṇa inserted in its corpus a story once or twice, in a shorter or longer form. One of the most interesting and important parts of the Purāṇas, the geographical description of India, is the object of the philological critic in Prof. Kirfel's latest contribution.

Among the Purāṇas there exist two main groups: in the first, the geographical part is given in a shorter form, in the second, in a more detailed one. The former group of Purāṇas is to be

7. Bhāratavarṣa (Indien). Textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purāṇa-Texte nebst Uebersetzung. Stuttgart 1931 (= Beitraege zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von J. W. Hauer, Heft 6.).

8. It would be unjust to forget the service done by the late F. E. Pargiter in his "Dynasties of the Kali Age" (Oxford 1913), in so many papers, condensed and systematically represented in his book "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" (London 1922). But the strict philological base of Prof. Kirfels researches, putting aside every biassed theory, was missing in former research-work. In 1920 Kirfel published already "Die Kosmographie der Inder", dealing with the entire Indian literature from a cosmographical point of view. The late Pargiter has done valuable service in elucidating geographical identifications in his English translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind. 1888-1905).

divided into two sub-groups again: the Garuḍa-, Śiva (Dharma-samhitā)-, and Śiva (Umāsamhitā)-Purāṇa, which represent an earlier recension against the Agni-, Brahma-, Kūrma-, and Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. For the chronological side the occurrence of the Hūṇa in the list of peoples cannot be counted as the word is found in a later interpolated passage.

Among the Purāṇas giving a longer text of India's description, there exist sub-groups again: either the text has no connection at all or at least no direct connection with the surrounding part; or the geographical description has its place in a bigger cosmographical chapter. To the former group belong: the Brahma (adhy. 2F)-, Mārkaṇḍeya-, Vāmana-Purāṇa, to the latter the Brahmāṇḍa-, Matsya- and Vāyu-Purāṇa.

The comparison of the geographical text and its surroundings carry us to the conclusion that the text had once its independent existence, however, in two recensions, before being incorporated into the Purāṇas. From the two groups, the shorter one seems to be the earlier, beginning with śloka 5 extending up to the end of the river-list; the list of peoples appears to be a later addition. The more detailed text, reaching up to the peoples-list, is very likely an enlargement of the shorter version; that is apparent from the formations of compounds, different from the other version, from the names occurring here, and from the interpolated half-śloka 3b, showing a world-conception, distinct from that in the shorter text. This more extensive version formed the base for a third one again, which appears in the Padma-Purāṇa and in the Mahābhārata. Prof. Kirfel believes in the possibility of suggesting a date for the longer text-form. For, the śloka 32 a, b, found in five Purāṇas with slight variations:

Sahasya cottare yas tu yatra Godāvarī nadī |
pṛthivyām api kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

occurs in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāmsā in the form:

Sahyadrer uttare bhāga yatra Godavarī naḍī |
pṛthivyām iha kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

and can be traced in the commentaries of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāmkhya-kārikā by Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara (but not yet with Paramārtha)[9] as follows:

9. Cf. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Ext-r'eme-Orient 4, 1904, 8 f., 984.

Dakṣiṇena tu Vindhyasya Sahyasya tu yad uttaram |
pṛthivyām āsamudrāyā sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

As long as there is no proof that the verse belongs to any other source or that it was a common-place, a terminus ante quem, i.e., the 9th/10th century A.D., may be suggested, and the verse would have existed in the 6th or 7th century A.D.

This introduction, giving the reasons for the classification of the Purāṇas, is followed by a transcribed text, arranged in the same way as in the previous work by Prof. Kirfel, the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. A German translation and copious notes, giving the identifications, as far as proposed by other writers on that subject, will prove very useful for quick reference being a reference-text for the Geography of India, as treated in the Purāṇic literature. All that is founded on sound philological work; though, the reader may not be confident in the reconstruction of the development of the Purāṇas, this critical cleaning of the text-book alone will carry us to some reliable results.

Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908 WITH A SURVEY OF POLICIES SINCE 1849

By

C. C. Davies,

(Cambridge University Press; 12 s. 6d. nett.)

The frontier problem which means no more than the problem of the North-West frontier, is an absorbing question in Indian History. It is the north-west that opened the flood-gates which let into India populations from the outside ever since the dawn of history. A natural frontier, or a scientific frontier, on this side would take us much beyond the boundaries of India of to-day. While all through Indian History the question of the north-west frontier was there, it was not a question of the same character at different periods of Indian History. In Hindu India, we might take it broadly that the frontier problem was no more than the question of a powerful kingdom or kingdoms in the north-west whose loyalty or the want of it either kept the enemy out or let him in. That was perhaps about as far as they could have gone in those days. We could understand something of it from a study of Alexander's invasion, or from the history of the Hindu Shahi dynasty that held rule over Afghanistan. In the days of the Muhammadan empire, the problem was of a different character, and this frontier was not without its anxieties as we know only too well from the repeated Mongol invasions, and later on, in the difficulty of maintaining viceroys loyal to the Mughal empire in India. As the British frontier gradually advanced to the line of the Sutlej, early British efforts were directed towards the maintenance of powerful frontier states, such as the Sikh state of the Punjab and the Mussalman chieftaincies of Sindh and Baluchistan. It is the annihilation of the one and the absorption of the other into British territory that makes the frontier problem one of the first magnitude in British Indian History. It is this question of the north-west frontier in British India that the work attempts to treat.

The problem naturally resolves itself into a question of deciding upon a frontier up to which the authority of the Indian Government might be extended, and the arrangements to be made with the states and peoples beyond for the safety of the frontier. There have been various theories as to the proper frontier of India, and four such have figured prominently in the discussions upon the question. The nearest of course is the so-called Indus frontier, which whatever it might have been in earlier times has ceased to be worth the name as a frontier, a river frontier being regarded as not offering any advantage as a frontier. The next one takes us a stage beyond. It takes in into the territory of India the strip of country between the river and the hills extending all along the whole length from the northern limits of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea at the mouth of the Indus. The advantage of this consists in the hills that skirt the frontier and offer obstructions to a possible invader from the north-west. But, as in the case of the river frontier, the Indus, so in the case of these hills, the question really is which side has command of the other bank. So in the case of these hills, a similar consideration obtains. The holding of the eastern side of these hills thus becomes impossible if the enemy were allowed to cross the hills unopposed. The necessity therefore arises of either fortifying hill tops, or taking possession of, and guarding, the other side of the passes across the hills. This naturally would bring the Government of India into relations with the tribes inhabiting the belt of country between the mountains on the frontier of India and the borders of Afghanistan whatever they be. It is with a view to this problem that the Durand Mission marked the frontier some way to the westward of the foothills, and passing through the whole length of the tribal country in an irregular line. This naturally introduces a new problem. Even such physical demarcation as the river or the hills afforded ceases. Anything like an ethnical division of allotting particular tribes to Afghan protection and other tribes to the protection of the Government of India has not been either consistently attempted or carried out by the Durand Mission. The tribal question therefore has really become a little more acute, and much more difficult to tackle, than previously. But the frontier which statesmen regarded as scientific and which perhaps may be described as providing a natural frontier is the line of the Afghan mountains stretching across the whole length, and having along it the important towns of Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar; that means practically all

Eastern Afghanistan, and, if the protection of the mountains involves fortifications on top, or the possession of the posts on the other side, that will mean practically the inclusion of all Afghanistan except Herat and Seistan into the Indian Empire. The Sutlej frontier has been extended to the foothills of Baluchistan by the annexation of Sindh in 1843, and by the subsequent relations with the Amirs of Baloch territory through considerable parts of Baluchistan also. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 completed the expansion on the side of the Punjab, and brought that problem of the frontier to a condition of emergency. Since then there have been constant efforts on the part of the Government of India to settle this question satisfactorily. Various policies have been tried, the changes being necessitated by the condition of Afghanistan for one thing, and the progress of the Russian power across the middle of Asia towards the Afghan frontier. This naturally involves relations with Persia and the territory of the Turkish empire in Asia. Changes of any importance in any one of these spheres necessitates a corresponding change in the policy of the British Government along the north-western frontier. The whole problem may be set down in two divisions: (1) the securing of a maintainable frontier capable of defence easily and of definition with a view to the maintenance of peaceful relations with other immediate neighbours. It was therefore a question of where we should stop in our actual possession, and to what extent fortifications and road-building and such other accessory works for the efficient defence of the frontier could be caried out. (2) How best to maintain Afghanistan as a friendly power. The securing of the frontier of Afghanistan dominated the policy till successive disasters that befell the British arms in their attempt to bring Afghanistan under British influence, led to concentration of effort on the other question. The resulting policy on the frontier culminated in the creation of the North-west Frontier Province, and the work of the Durand Boundary Commission. This was further followed by removing the anxieties on this side by a definite agreement with the advancing power of Russia, which in fact was the determining factor in the settlement of the problem. The settlement of the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia was successfully carried through, and the Russian Treaty marked definitely the sphere of Russian activities in Central Asia.

The question is a very complicated one, and the material for arriving at correct conclusions in regard to the problem lies buried

in unpublished and confidential records of the India and Foreign Offices. The author of this work was given access to these and has undertaken the writing of the work on the basis of his study extending over years of these records. He has also had the benefit of a few years' residence on the frontier as a military officer in the service of the Government of India, and has brought his own personal knowledge to bear upon the question. While we may say that this new study of the problem advances definite knowledge on the question to a very considerable extent, it may perhaps be too optimistic to assert that it has yet come to the last word on the subject. We welcome the book as a contribution to the study of this difficult problem.

THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER JON OLAFSSON, VOL. II

Published by the Hakluyt Society, 1931.

This is a continuation of the first volume already published, and is a translation from the Icelandic edition of Dr. Sigfus Blondal, edited for the Society by the late Sir Richard Temple and Miss L.. M. Anstey. The work deals with the life of the Icelander ever since he came to Denmark, and deals with the part of his life beginning with his arrival in Denmark, and his entering the service of the Danish Government as a gunner, and takes the account through the adventurous voyage of a Danish expedition for purposes of trade to India, and the dangerous return voyage, which culminated in 1626. There is also a part added at the end, which continues the life of Jon to his death in 1679. So the adventures of this Icelander includes the voyage out to India, the founding of the Danish settlement at Tranqubar, and their early relations with the Nayak of Tanjore, of which we get a certain amount of valuable information from the writer. Although the work suffers by its having been written late in his life and from memory, which may have suffered from the serious accident and the consequent illness, it still leaves much of substantial information—which perhaps could be confirmed from other sources—that relates to India. It is hardly possible to find better editors for a work like this than the late lamented Sir Richard Temple, and his collaborator for a long series of years, Miss Anstey. The work is published by the Hakluyt Society, which is itself a guarantee for accuracy in the editing as well as in the printer's part of it

generally, though in this latter particular, we have noticed some few errors of the printer, such as the one on page 273, where in item No. 5, among the list of works, the word *Vatesa* occurs for *Natesa.* Just a few more like that we come across with in the work, which perhaps are not worth mentioning, excepting one to which we should draw attention. The edition of the book of Barbosa is ascribed in one note to Crookes, although it is referred to in other places correctly as that of Longworth Dames. That again we fear is a mere slip.

In note 2 on page 102, the latter monsoon is called the north-west monsoon from about October to April. We fear it is generally spoken of as the North-East Monsoon from the point of view of India, and it may not be correct to say North-West. Olafsson's information is not without value, though as was said before his narrative is sometimes inaccurate owing to lapses of memory, sometimes due to misunderstanding, sometimes simply due to wrong hearing of the sound. The notes generally are valuable, and, covering a range of authorities really extensive, may be regarded as impossibly extensive, but for the fact it is Sir Richard Temple that is responsible for the collection. Unfortunately these notes taken from a variety of sources sometimes tend to make Olafsson's confusion worse confounded, although in certain places we might even say the advantage lay with Olafsson himself.

Without taking too much of space, we may point out that in regard to the word *Bital Arech* or *Bitala Paga*, for the separate words Arech or Paga, the note 3 on page 115 makes Olafsson really better. Arech or Paga stand for two Tamil words Aḍaikkāi or Pākku, whereas the note here, while it interprets it correctly gives the Tamil form of the word *Pukka*, and is explained as the Tamil form of the word *Pan.* The word really is *Pākku*, and is the equivalent not of *Pan* but of *Supāri*, the familiar Hindustani term. *Pan* is the leaf and *Supari* is the nut, *Pansupari* being a Hindustani term ordinarily used for both in combination. In regard to *Arreck*, it is a matter of interest that Olafsson should have heard it. *Arreck* is Aḍikkē in Kanarese, may be even Tuḷu or Coorg, and is a term that could have been heard in the West Coast in the seventeenth century, although the classical Tamil *Aḍaikkāy* is used by the Tamils even now. It is only by one section of them, the Srivaishṇavas in their semi-sacredotal brogue. But Aḍaikkāy for nut is a term of Tamil, used in the Tamil inscriptions of

the period A.D. 879 to A.D. 1500. Betelerick will then be really Bital-Arreck or *Vettilai-Aḍaikkāy,* and Biṭṭal-Pāga would be *Vettilai-Pākku.*

On page 120, Olafsson describes, in a very confussed fashion, what he saw in a temple perhaps in the town of Poraiyār about two miles from Tranquebar. The first name given is *Suami,* and the description that he gives there would answer to the elephant-headed god Gaṇēśa, which he might well have seen in that great Śiva temple of the locality. The next one that he calls *Rami,* he describes as though it were the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, which certainly would be found prominently in Vishṇu temples. The third which he calls Tamēran is said to be like the second. Olafsson obviously here is confounding, his memory may be more responsible for the errors than his capacity for observation. It was not likely he would have been allowed near enough to the sanctum for him to have seen what it contained inside, and possibly he is describing images that he could see from a distance at the outside. The three figures may be the figure of a Gaṇēśa, and two other figures which may be attendant deities, or even the various vehicles on which even Śiva could be carried out in procession on festival days. There are two or three notes which attempt to explain these as representing the Hindu triad or Tṛmūrti, Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva or Rudra, for which there is neither warrant in Olafsson's names, or his descriptions. The first word Suami would simply mean Lord and may be applied to any God, and by an ignorant guide Gaṇēśa may be called the Suami if he saw the figure in a shrine set apart for it. It is not part of the name of the Tṛmūrti in any case. Vishṇu as one of the Tṛmūrti is never called Rām, Rami as Olafsson transcribes it, and the description given will not answer to either Rāma or to Vishṇu. It may be the image of a Garuḍa in a Vishṇu temple. It can also be found in a Śiva temple in some one place or other, or it can be one of the Gaṇas (attendant deities) of Śiva serving as a vehicle, the Bhūtavāhana in certain Śiva temples. Olafsson's Tameran which is said to be like the second need not be a Malayāḷam word, which in fact is derived from the Tamil word Tambirān from *Tam,* Our and *Pirān,* Lord. But that has nothing whatever to do with Śiva, much less Śiva as one of the trinity. That it could have nothing to do with Tṛmūrty is in evidence on the next page where Olafsson describes the sacrifices of two full-grown goats in front of the house of *Almarich.* No goats can be sacrificed to any of the Tṛmūrty for one thing. This makes it

certain that it is the carrying out in procession of village deities, which may be of the forms described, and with even an approach to the names suggested, that Olafsson actually describes. In such a case it could not even include Gaṇēśa. The Almarich whose name figures in that connection could be no other than the Nayak or governor of the town. The first part of the name may be a corruption of Araṇmanai (vulgo *aramanai*) the whole term standing for Araṇmanai-Kāran standing for the agent of the Palace, that is the town-governor. Chapter 21 contains a number of Tamil words, which Olafsson gives as near as he heard them. The explanations given are not all of them satisfactory, but we hardly believe this is the place where the corrections should be made. On page 141, note 6, there is a statement that cotton grows on a bush, and not on a tree. There is a cotton tree, the cotton of which is much valued as downy soft, and Olafsson's description would answer to that.

In regard to what is said of the Nayak of Tanjore, at the time Raghunātha, much of what he says is perhaps not wrong; and there is one date, the date of his death, which we think is taken by Dr. Blundel from Stager Schlegal. Raghunātha is said to have died in 1626; while that date seems possible, it seems hardly acceptable from what is known of Raghunātha and his reign, and of the reign of his son Vijayaraghava from other sources. We shall not discuss that at present. The work, the second part of Olafsson's, is a valuable addition to the literature of the period and throws some welcome light from an altogether independent source for the history of a comparatively dark period. The publication of the Hakluyt Society completing the work, is therefore matter for satisfaction.

SIAMESE STATE CEREMONIES: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTION

By

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This work constitutes an important contribution to the history of Indian culture. It has reference to a department of this history, which, at any rate, so far as India is concerned, needs

working up with a view to a fuller understanding of the outspread of Indian culture, its character, and the extent and intensity of its prevalence in countries beyond the borders of India. It is commonly understood, though but vaguely, that Indian influence extended across the Bay of Bengal into the islands of the Archipelago on the one side, and the vast congeries of countries known as the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. But notwithstanding the very valuable work done by the French School at Hanoi and the Dutch in Java, and the work of several individual scholars, some of them even officially connected with Siam, it cannot be said that the subject has been worked up adequately to give an idea of the character of the pervasive influence of Indian culture in these distant lands. The work therefore is quite welcome, as it throws important, much-needed light upon one of the more obscure parts of the subject, and gives us an idea of the thoroughness with which Indian culture has entered into the life of the people of Siam. The book under review undertakes to discuss, from the point of view of social anthropology, the ceremonies and ceremonial functions associated with royalty in Siam. It is a department of study for the understanding of which high qualifications and uncommon opportunities are needed. The author, a cultured European, who held a position in the Lord Chamberlain's Department of the court of Siam in recent years, is certainly well qualified for the task. He has gone into the subject with sympathy, and an earnestness born of his devotion to the subject.

The population of Siam contains many ethnical elements and has been subjected from time to time to various influences of civilization that a study of its culture would be a very complicated subject. But its rulers are perhaps Chinese in origin, and to some extent, we suppose, even association; but they have drawn very largely from India in all departments of culture. While it would be difficult actually to pick out what may be due to Chinese influence, royal ceremonies are run through and through with the corresponding institutions of India, Brahmanical essentially, and Buddhistic to some extent. A full understanding therefore of these ceremonies involves, as a necessary prerequisite, a complete and detailed knowledge of the corresponding ceremonies in India, which it may be said without any fear of contradiction, has not yet been done for India itself. Without a detailed knowledge of this subject, the value of the work would be difficult to appreciate. We welcome therefore the work as a very important contribution to a subject which required elucidation, and give the author full

credit for having attacked the subject with so much sympathy, and presented it to the public in such fulness and with a sympathetic understanding.

The book falls into six parts; and the first provides an introduction indicating the scope of the subject and the sources, giving a mere cursory account of Siamese cultural history and social organisation. The next part is devoted to a study of the ceremonial, in which it is pointed out that the two factors of the utmost importance are the kingship itself and the existence of the court Brahmans. The third part gives a somewhat detailed description of the installation ceremonies. Part four deals with other ceremonies which though not pertaining to installation are still closely associated with royalty. Part five deals with a number of festivals and institutions relating to the popular life of Siam, in which royalty has to bear its own part. Part six is devoted to miscellaneous matter, such as the White Elephant as an institution in Siam, the feasts of the lamps and other Brahmanical ceremonies of a minor character, with two chapters on the propitiation of spirits and the ways in which their expulsion is attempted. The author combines in the treatment of the subject the methods of history and archæology on the one side, and the functional method of sociology on the other. He finds that the Siamese borrowed their culture mainly from India, though penetrating deep under the surface one can find Chinese and other influences. His study so far lends support to the diffusionist theory of culture, and does not find much to support a theory of independent origins. The author notes, at the outset, that Siam to-day is passing through a critical period, and is, as Asiatic countries are as a whole, under the full blaze of Western civilization. The author notes, however, that the influence of the West "is entirely on the side of the profane. She (Siam) is indebted to Western culture for much that has added to her material well being; but here, as elsewhere in the East, Western religion has failed to make an appeal." He notes carefully what others failed to see in dealing with old societies that "while it is good for Siam to make material improvements and break down old abuses, it is on the contrary suicidal for her to interfere with her religion and cultural inheritance." He says that for the maintenance of social integrity, the Siamese would be wise in "keeping that which is of lasting good in each ceremony, and steadfastly setting their faces against complete abolition, which is almost always both undesirable and unjustifiable".

Passing on to the history of Siam, he notes that the earliest inhabitants were of two sections (1) the Lava who are still found in the northern hill ranges, and (2) Mon-Khmer, who stretch across from Cambodia through the whole of the Menam valley and the Malaya country to as far as Pegu. The first foreigners to disturb them in their sequestered corner were the Indians, probably traders at the commencement, who penetrated further forward from Pegu, in the early ages of Buddhism. Asoka's conquest of Kalinga set up an emigration from the Kalinga country, and possibly gave the large colonies occupying the land round the Gulf of Siam. He notes also the mission or the missionary activities of Asoka. He describes the first advent of Hīnayānism, to Asoka's mission under Sona and Uttara. Some of the oldest remains of the Buddhists in Siam are the *cetiya* and *cakra* wheels which have to-day been found over the images of the Buddha. With the advent of Mahāyānism, Buddhist influence went further forward. But most of the evidence relating to Mahāyānism seems to indicate the outspread of this form of Buddhism from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. This he ascribes to the period extending from the early centuries of the Christian era to the twelfth century. He notes that Brahmanism regained its ascendency afterwards. Notwithstanding this fact, there were still Buddhist monarchs in Siam. He does not note, however, the observation of Fa. Hein, though it does not apply exactly to Siam, that among the people of India whom he found in colonies along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, he found no Buddhists, most of them being Hindus. With the advent of colonies of the worshippers of Vishṇu and Śiva, the author notes the colonisation of the interior. The Brahman state of Cambodia extended further west over the Lao country and Svarnabhumi, but it must be noted here that Brahman migration as early as the fourth century is in evidence as far east as Borneo, in the eastern part of the island, in the inscription of Mūlavarman, detailing the celebration of a Hindu sacrificial ceremony. We have a Vaishṇava inscription of the eighth century on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula, which makes a clear reference to a Vishṇu temple and colonies of people from the west coast of India. The author then refers to the coming in of the Thai, the ancestors of the modern Siamese and the Laos. They began to stir from Southern China about 100 B.C., set themselves up in independence in the Seventh century, and they moved southwards and occupied the country of Siam. The first important dynasty of the Thai established themselves at Sukhodaya in A.D. 1237. Under two great rulers at the end of

the 13th century and the middle of the 14th, the Thais made great advance. About the middle of the 14th century, however, this dynasty of the Thais was overthrown by the prince of Udon, who founded the kingdom of Ayūdhya. This laid the foundations of the present kingdom of Siam. There were seven kings of Ayūdhya, and the dynasty lasted from 1350 to 1762. The Burmese had grown to power in the 13th century and in the 14th, attacked Siam in 1569, and Siam was overrun by them for a short period. Two centuries after, Ayūdhya was laid siege to and destroyed by the Burmese. But the Burmese were dislodged by a man of humble birth and of Chinese extraction, under the name Brahya Tak. He established a new capital of the kingdom at Dhanapuri on the opposite bank of the river Menam to Bangkok, the later capital. His insanity in 1782 led to his deposition by one of his generals. This general Cau Brahya Cakri became the founder of a new dynasty. This dynasty established its capital in Bangkok, and the dynasty thus founded is called the Cakri-Dynasty from the name of its founder. The first six rulers have been named Rama I to Rama VI, the last of whom died in 1925, and was succeeded by the present ruler Prajadhipok. Thus it is clear that the foundation for the culture of the Siamese is the primitive culture of the Thai nomads of southern China. Ever since its movement to the south, it was exposed to foreign influences, and all these influences were passed on to the next second Thai kingdom of Ayūdhya, and after the destruction of that capital, the earlier rulers of the Chakri dynasty made efforts to collect together and restore the culture of Ayūdhya. It will thus be seen that the two dominant cultural influences of Siam are those of the Chinese and the Indian. Chinese culture was native to the founders of the Thai rule. This was improved by intercourse with China in the period of their rule at Sukhodaya, and this influence continued in the period of their rule at Ayūdhya also. Later immigration of Chinese did not affect their culture very much. On the contrary, Indian culture came from India to some extent, but the far greater influence of Indian culture was derived from the Indian kingdoms such as Dvāravati, Śrī-Vijaya and Cambodia.

Four systems of Indian influence are noteworthy:—

1. The Mahāyānist influence beginning with the Christian era continued well on into the seventh century.

2. Vaishṇava Brahmans seem to have reached Cambodia in the early centuries of the Christian era also. While the Thai

rulers of Sukhōdaya imported Vaishṇava Brahmans from Cambodia, they retained their influence in court ceremonial.

3. The Śaiva Brahmans seem to have come in later, and other streams of Indian settlers followed. They were imported during the Ayūdhya period, that is, from 1350 to 1762, directly from India. When the capital Ayūdhya was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, the Brahmans that escaped from there were invited to settle down in Bangkok, and their influence continued.

4. The last was the influence of Hinayānistic Buddhism which came from Ceylon. That was due to the great efforts at Buddhist revival of Prakrama Bahu, king of Ceylon, when missions were despatched to various countries by him, such as China. All these influences are found in the institutions of the Siamese. But one noticeable feature is the clear absence of Burmese influence. That is due perhaps to the hostility between the Burmese and the Siamese on the one side, and the comparative want of intercourse owing to the dividing mountains between the two countries, on the other.

Then begins part 3 and the following parts dealing with the details of the ritual. So far as the performance of the various ceremonies as such of the Siamese is concerned, the book gives a fairly complete and correct account in full detail. The account is interspersed here and there with analogies drawn from similar ancient ceremonies of India, such as the Mahābhishēka of Indra and the Rājasūya described in detail in the Brahmanas. He also discusses their sociological value, and considers these ceremonies in the light of an anthopologist in regard to their origin and significance. In respect of the analogies drawn, the details are not always quite correctly chosen, and the effort at discovering their significance sometimes misleads. In regard to the symbolic fray or sham fight, fight as he calls it, of the Rājasūya, it must be remembered that the Rājasūya is a ceremony of the coronation of one who has already established his overlordship by a series of conquests, or by acknowledgment of his overlordship, so that the representation of a fight is quite in place. The idea is absent in the description of the Mahābishēka of Indra. It is recognised that the actual details of the ceremony of coronation as practised in Siam now, while based generally upon the Indian ritual as a whole, is run through here and there with details borrowed from other sources Indian and other than Indian. Buddhism and Buddhistic ritual have been introduced within recent times when the kings

adopted Buddhism as their religion for one thing. There have been introduced into it also other Indian features not connected with ancient Vedic coronation ceremonies, such as for instance, the author mentions, as the Tamil Mantra signifying 'opening the portals of the Kailasa'. This probably is the poem Tirupaḷḷi Eḻuchchi of Māṇikkavāśakar, or a poem of similar import. That could only have gone from South India, and it would be interesting to trace how and when it actually did go there, and whether it is this poem, or what else, it indicates. Speaking of this Tamil introduction, we may mention here two other poems that are under advertance in similar connections, though not exactly in connection with the coronation. There are two works referred to in the book as *Traiyam-bāvay* and *Tirupavay*. These two are well-known poems, Tiruvempāvai of Māṇikkavāśakar and Tiruppāvai, the Vaishṇava hymn of Āṇḍāḷ, both of them of similar import, sung usually early in the morning in the respective shrines of Śiva and Vishṇu, in Mārgaśīrsha, the first month of the year of Vishṇu.

Another feature of importance worth noticing is the list of works bearing on the Brahmanical ceremonies in the National Library at Bangkok. The list is given on page 63 of the work. This list is not a list of separate books exactly as the author takes it. It seems to be merely the chapter headings of one of the well-known Āgamas of South India for certain. But as it is given in the imperfect form, and with the imperfect knowledge of Āgama, that we have at present, it would be difficult to identify which Āgama it is that is thus actually referred to. That it is one of the Āgamas of authority in the Tamil country, is indubitably in evidence in the name given to the second section of what is called Volume D in the work. The term is '*Pūja Muṛai*', which obviously is a Tamil term and cannot be Sanskrit. It seems therefore clear that it is not only the early Vaidic ceremony of the coronation that is in evidence. It is equally obvious that the later Āgamaic influence has also had its full share in the ceremonies of the coronations as practised in Siam.

There is one point in connection with this on page 100 in regard to the sceptre. The author speaks of there being no specific mention in ancient Indian literature of the sceptre. If the sceptre as sceptre is not referred to, we have the Daṇḍa as a rod of punishment, which symbolises the sceptre, which is under reference in Sanskrit literature. But even the sceptre itself is under reference in ancient Tamil literature, the term used being translated proper-

ly 'as the rod of righteousness'. It would not be correct therefore to say that this did not play as important a part as in Europe.

Speaking of royal ceremonies other than the coronation ceremony, the author describes Indrābhishēka as practised in Siam taking the account from one of the Siamese authorities he relies on. There is a remark that he makes at the end of it; 'at first sight, however, one might fail to appreciate the connection between this (the churning of the ocean) and the idea of the Indrābhishēka.' The connection is intimate. Indrābhishēka is a ceremony symbolising the re-installation of Indra in his position after having lost his wealth and position, as the result of the slaying of Vritra; and the recovering of it was after a long period of penance by the churning of the ocean of milk. A number of other such details are found in the book, but it is hardly necessary to refer to any more of them and run the risk of being called hypercritical. But these typical instances are given here merely to show that the ceremony requires a closer study, with far more thorough preparation on the Indian features of it to be fully understood. We are grateful to the author for having presented the Siamese side so thoroughly, so that we have the material before us for the detailed comparison, which is necessary from the Indian point of view. We welcome the publication as a very important contribution to a rather recondite subject.

Before closing, however, we may take the opportunity to point out that the royal names associated with the image of Śiva and Vishṇu in Cambodya need not be taken, as the author actually does, as representing the apotheosis of the monarchs who built them. This is under reference on page 169-ff where he points out this kind of a special cult drawing for example from the famous temple, Ankor Vat, followed up by the statement, 'This deified monarch to whom this Vishṇu temple was dedicated was Udayāditta Varman II (1048-1079) or Sūryavarman II (1112-1165).' Naming gods consecrated in temples after the name of the pious builder, without any idea whatsoever of making the builder the object of worship, is a very common Indian practice. The Rājarājēsvara and Gangaikoṇḍacholēsvara in Tanjore and innumerable temples in South India are instances in point. If Ankor Vat was built to the spirit of the dead kings, it will have to be proved on other evidence than the one that is offered.

There is another interesting point which establishes the indebtedness of Siam for the very fundamentals of its culture to India. The year begins with Mārgaśīrsha, coming somewhat about

the middle of December nowadays. Of course, that is the ceremonial first month of the year of the Gods, and there are ceremonies connected with it as such, which get to be celebrated. This is based on the tradition that Vishṇu wakes up from his long sleep about that time, and his waking up marks the beginning of the year. The Siamese year begins with that. We do not believe as far as we know at present that any of the eras prevalent in India began with that month. It certainly is very interesting to note that the idea is found in Siam, and that may give us a notion of the actual period of the introduction of this in Siam. Details of time are marked on this basis, and the author is somewhat confused in regard to two or three festivals that he describes by not having noted carefully this fact. The Dipāvaḷi (vulgo Divali) is a festival, which does not come in the last month, but in the month before, and it is a celebration which symbolises the victory of Krishna over Narakāsura, whereas the Krittikā festival, which is also celebrated in Siam, represents Vishṇu's victory over Bali. What the author calls Mahā Sankarānti is Makara Sankarānti (the Pongal, a South Indian agricultural festival). There could be no mistaking these if the time of the year to which they refer is noted from the starting point of the first month as given above. These details will be found in chapter 24 of the work. We have said enough to show our great appreciation of the work of the author, and shall conclude by stating that it deserves very careful study by those interested in the outspread of Indian culture, and the existence of corresponding details in India itself.

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

Dr. Balakrishna, M.A., Ph.D.

Part I, Shahji.

This is part of a project for a comprehensive life of Shivaji based on all the material available to the public at this date more or less. Mahratta history generally, and the history, not to say biography, of Shivaji in particular, have so far suffered from the defect of a very partial exploitation of the sources of information available. Even the latest work of Sir Jadunath Sarkar suffers from this general drawback, not to speak of early historians of the Mahrattas. Volume I, part 1 of this projected work covers the period of the rise of Shahji to power, and deals with his achievements as a necessary preliminary to the life of Shivaji. The merit

of this work consists in the thorough exploitation of the various records of European factories, particularly the Dutch and the English more fully. Records of the India Office have been used also. In regard to Indian sources, Dr. Balakrishna brings the light derivable from the collection of sanads, Mahratti, Persian and even some Urdu sources, as also Hindu literature, such as the Shivabharata, Radha Madhava Vilas Champu and other works of poet, Jayarama, and various other miscellaneous contemporary sources. Certainly he refers to the Bakhairs and has made a critical use of them amply for the purpose. Working on a wider range therefore of sources, Dr. Balakrishna is in a position to arrive at more acceptable conclusions than his predecessors in the effort.

The history of Shahji as presented in this volume covers 169 pages of the work not including appendices and other miscellaneous matter extending to about 45 pages without the index. We think it is for the first time that we have a connected and cogent account of the Mahratta leader, to whom must belong the credit of the foundation of the Mahratta State, which at one time was close to achieving a Mahratta empire in India. We pointed out in a contribution we made to the Shivaji Tercentenary volume that the history of the rise of the Mahratta power in the South required to be worked up more fully and brought into its real perspective by exploiting sources, which have so far not been properly exploited. We are gratified to find that this wish of ours finds its fulfilment in great part by the work before us. It establishes clearly that Shahji and Shivaji came of a family of Rajaput chiefs, and the fact of their connection with the Sisodayas, cousins of the Ranas of Udaipur, is provable on the basis of various charters. Dr. Balakrishna has worked up a successful genealogy on this basis. The Mahratta chiefs began to play an active part even from the days of the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom; nay it turns out that they bore their part in the foundation of that kingdom by Hasan Gangu Bahmani. The conferment of the jaghir of Mudhol, and the division of the family into various branches holding jaghirs in different localities of the Dakhan, are brought out clearly. The rise of Shahji, gradually to power as an officer of the Nizamshahi dynasty, his services under Malik Ambar, the transfer of his allegiance to the Mughals, his return to the service of Ahmadnagar, and the part that he played as king-maker are all brought out in what strikes one as the proper perspective in the early history of Shahji. The imperfections of the narrative in

previous history relating to the connection between this family and that of the Jadhavs, the question of his marriage, and his activities in the Nizamshahi Dakhan are presented with many corrections based upon the genuine contemporary documents. We are then brought to the definite extinction of the Nizamshahi kingdom; and the desperate position to which Shahji himself had been reduced by his efforts to set up more or less independently is pointed out as what actually drove him into the service of Bijapur with the consent of the Mughals. Even at the beginning of his service in Bijapur, he was appointed to a position of advantage from which he could prosecute his ambition to purpose. This purpose of his life he carried out to his satisfaction, with a caution and circumspection quite worthy of the great ambitions and the character and experience of the man such as Shahaji was. He is shown in fact as the conqueror of the Bijapur Carnatic, and as its ruler all the time that he was under Bijapur. In this part of his work, he does certainly appear as having been mainly responsible for the destruction of the empire of Vijayanagar. This became inevitable to a very great extent, and Shahji's contribution may be regarded as more or less actively bringing about what would inevitably have followed. But his activities rendered one remarkable service in the preservation of Hindu culture and religion, which ran great risk of extinction by the fanatical policy pursued by Bijapur in the reign of its penultimate ruler. While yet he was alive, he had founded a vast kingdom for himself in the south, though still under the nominal rule of Bijapur, in addition to his own jaghir and possessions in the Mahratta country extending over the whole length of the Konkan with considerable parts of the Desh. This great work must necessarily have inspired Shivaji. Dr. Balakrishna makes an effort to point out that it was not merely the influence of the work of the father that inspired Shivaji, but that Shahji actually inculcated the idea and made him co-operate with him in the great work, as far as it could be taken up while yet he was alive. Having gone so far, there was the certainty that Shivaji would continue the ambitious scheme and ultimately establish the Hindvi Svarajya.

We congratulate Dr. Balakrishna upon the successful work that he has done on this difficult task and look forward to the further volumes with expectancy. As it is presented, the work shows blemishes, some of them even of a serious character. These, of course, will be removed when a revised edition becomes necessary as we hope it will soon be.

INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

By

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.,

VOL. II. PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

(*Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.*) *pp. vi and* 326. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Next in importance to the reconstruction of the politcal history of ancient India, the subject that has been engaging the attention of scholars doing research in Indian history is the evolution and growth of political institutions in India. During the last few decades a large volume of literature has been added on the subject. But none of the works that deal with it traces the growth of the institutions up to the present day. But Prof. Venkateswara, in the book under review, tries to trace the administrative systems under the various dynasties during the different periods of Indian History to the time when the British took possession of the administration of India.

In the first two chapters the author described the polity in Rigvedic India and the period after that. He tries to show that the political institutions of the post-Vedic period grew out of the institutions of the Vedic period. The author differentiates rightly between the Amātyas and the Mantriparisad. The Amātyas (the Amaiachan) were the great officers of the state. They were ever by the side of the king, and gave him advice on important questions of state policy and administrative detail. But the Mantriparisad (the ministerial Council) was a large body, the members of which were selected on a caste basis "to enlist the co-operation of the representatives of the people in the special needs of the administration in times of stress."

In Chapter III the author describes the administrative institutions under the Mauryas. Prof. Venkateswara follows Dr. Shyama Śāstri and remarks that the king was bound to act in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the council and translates the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* as majority; but majority opinion and majority rule are ideas too modern to be found used in the distant past. The Kauṭalīyan use of the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* need not connote majority opinion, but seems actually to imply the considered opinion of the most learned members of the council if this word is

taken along with the term *buddhivṛddhāh* which occurs in the same chapter. There is proof to show, as has been pointed out by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar in his *Hindu Administrative institutions* and the *Mauryan Polity*, that frank discussion in the council was allowed and that it was the duty of the king to gain even the minority to the majority view point. The absentee members also sent in their views to the council and the final decision lay not with the majority of the members of the council, but in the general acceptance among its members.

Chapter IV deals with constitutions under the Guptas, Śātavāhanas and the Cholas. The account is sweeping and sketchy, and lacks details. It is difficult to accept the theory propounded by the author that the Kuṛaḷ polity resembles what is contained in the Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* rather than that in Kauṭalīya's *Arthaśāstra*. But the author does not seem to think it necessary to give arguments for this conclusion of his. In the latter half of the chapter Professor Venkateswara examines in a summary way the views on polity of the many political thinkers that have appeared in India from time to time. Lastly he examines the influences of the foreign dynasties on the Indian institutions and customs, and summarises the views on the subject of a few scholars like Drs. Spooner and Smith.

Chapter V is devoted to an examination of the governments under some five dynasties in mediaeval India—the Rajputs, Afghans, Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar kings and the Portuguese. The accounts are superficial. The author calls the governments simple types. He does not examine for instance the question whether the Vijayanagar administrative institutions were a continuation of the institutions of the Cholas with the necessary changes and modifications as were demanded by the conditions of the age, or whether they were totally different from them. Further there are in the chapter some statements which are not true at all ages and at all times. For example it is said that a *Kalam* is equal to 24 measures, *panam* to 2½ annas and one *veli* to 6 2/3 acres. It is a well known fact that in Ancient and Mediaeval times there was no one standard measure of currency in India. Caesar Frederick informs us that every provincial chief had a currency of his own. In the same way there was no one definite measure for the whole country. We wish to invite attention to another statement of the author that "instances are not wanting of king making prodigious sacrifices in order to maintain a political com-

pact with honour like those made by the Rāja of Anagondi in his unwillingness to give up a Mussulman refugee"; but here we must note the Rāja took under his protection a rebel chief against Muhammad bin Tughlak and this act was in itself indefensible; and when he sent the fugitive to the court of Vīraballāḷadēva he could not give up the rebel. The author refers to the inhuman methods in mediaeval Indian warfare, but remarks that such exceptions prove the rule "that warfare in India was humane as contrasted with the horrors of war wrought by the foreigners in India."

Chapter VI is devoted to a description of the administrative institutions under the Mughals. There we have an excellent account of the working of the government, and the author checks and verifies the writings of the Muhammadan historians with the help of the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited the Mughal court. In the opinion of the author "the Mughal despotism was based on the command of a strong army and the possession of a well filled treasury to which engines of despotism, the Mughal sovereigns added new ones—by insisting on the prominent nobles of the country remaining in the court practically as hostages, and by an elaborate system of espionage." Professor Venkateswara rightly appreciates the efforts of Akbar to evolve a national state by taking the Hindus into his confidence and giving them encouragement.

Chapter VII examines the administrative institutions under the Mahrāṭhas, the Nāyaks and the Sikhs. The author is of opinion that the Mahrāṭha despotism may be compared to the Mughal monarchy under Akbar who became head of religion in 1581, and says that the Mahrāṭha ruler was assisted by a council of 8 ministers which had a distinctly military import, six of the 8 *pradhānis* having military duties. The author has nothing but praise for the Mahrāṭha institutions, and fails to realise that the weakness of the system lay in the fact it was not suited to an extensive empire which contributed largely for the failure of the Mahrāṭhas to establish a stable empire in India in spite of their military genius and the far-sighted statesmen whom the nation produced.

We see Professor Venkateswara at his best in the last chapter —Our Heritage. In this chapter the author examines in general terms the nature of the Indian state. He remarks that "the fundamental aim of the state was to preserve the Indian outlook on life

and those institutions which were held necessary to perpetuate it, and that when there were political differences they were not pressed to a breaking point but were healed and set at rest by the genius for conciliation characterising the common sense of the people." He rightly points out that the weakness of the Hindu polity lay in that the governments neglected their fleets necessary for military purposes, and also did not appreciate that an Indian government has larger duties than the mere day to day administration within the boundaries of its territories. He concludes this chapter with the remark that the Hindu governments realised the fact that "it was the duty of the state with due regard to individual and communal liberty to help the many sided development of the individual as well as of those social ideas and institutions which would make this development permanent and universal".

It would have been better if the author had divided this book into two parts and tried to devote more attention to the Gupta, Śātavāhana, Rājput, Afghan, and Vijayanagar polities. There is no bibliography of the books he consulted, a serious defect in publications that lay claim to incorporate research work. The book contains a copious index which is very useful. The get up of the book leaves little to be desired.

COLONIAL POLICY.

By

Dr. A. D. A. De Kat Angelino

bridged translation by G. J. Renier with the author's collaboration.

(2 volumes)

Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, (Holland).

This work in two volumes makes a survey of the important blem which is embraced in the expression Colonial Policy, te a modern expression for an old idea, after a long period of elopment. The colonial movement in Europe is a product of sixteenth century enterprise when the growing modernism of opean governments in their economic development, sought an et for their energies and economic enterprise in the search for kets for purposes of trade. Of course in an age of monopoly

lke that of the empire of Charless V and of the Tudors in England, the effort has been one to break through the monopoly claimed by the sister nations of Spain and Portugal, the most advanced colonial powers of the time having had some considerable start. At the beginning the purpose was merely the limited one of securing monopolies for trade in regions as yet unoccupied exclusively by the two prominent colonial powers of Spain and Portugal. In the political position of the times an enterprise like this would have been impossible of fruition by itself. Other factors therefore came into the struggle, particularly the religious one. As a result of the Reformation, all the Protestant powers made an effort to call into question the monopoly claimed by the chief Catholic power of Spain and along with it of course the chief commercial power, Portugal. The result has been the discovery of the south-eastern passage to India and the East. Thus was established the first contact between Europe and the East, the purpose of which was nothing more than commerce-commerce in eastern commodities, for which there was a very considerable demand in Europe. What the European countries wanted was nothing more than facilities for trade, which involved as against European powers, the freedom of the seas for navigation, and, as far as eastern powers were concerned, freedom, with the permission of the political authorities of the land, for making purchases and sales with facility, if not altogether without restriction of freedom.

Some of the European countries left the matter entirely to private enterprise as in the case of the East India Company in England, while in other countries, although the enterprise was that of companies, they had the support of the governments of their own countries in a far more ample measure than the English companies have had. Sometimes it proved to be altogether government enterprise as in the case of France in the particular periods. A common view or policy, if the view of those that understood these enterprises, could be called such, was nothing more than the facilities required for commerce and for earning the profits arising therefrom. The enterprises therefore soon took the form of an effort to secure monopoly, if necessary by even going to war. Any advantage or benefit accruing from this connection between the West and the East therefore had no higher object whatever than the economic advantages to be derived from a growing commerce.

As gradually the three or four commercial powers secured regions for this purpose, they began to exclude others from the benefits therefrom only with partial success. That necessarily led

on to a period of struggle to determine the exclusive field for each one of these powers; when in the course of the struggle, they had come to an understandable demarcation of spheres, there began the notion that while the commercial interests actually predominated, the prime essential for the flourising of this commerce, namely, peace in the land where commerce was to go on, led these separate nations through their trading companies to establish first an influence a dominant influence, and then an exclusive influence, ultimately even the political power-over these peoples. Something like the provision of a government favourable for the fostering of commerce became one of the objects to be striven for, either directly or indirectly, by these companies and the powers behind them. When ultimately they divided the East among themselves for this purpose and established themselves more or less strongly in a dominant position, the good government of these regions began gradually to work its way into the minds of those enterprising people engaged in this commerce, more enlightened and liberal-minded than their companions, so that almost without a conscious adaptation, a feeling began to grow which ultimately developed into a recognised policy of responsibility for the good government and prosperity of the peoples who had been brought under their influence. This became an important question pretty early both in the case of the Dutch and in the case of the British in India. Both alike had to liberalise their policy and establish governments on the basis of principles of an enlightened character where the commercial interests were made to subordinate themselves to the principles of good government of the peoples brought under their rule. This was formally enunciated under the government of Lord William Bentinck in India, although we cannot deny the prevalence of such notions of good government even under Clive and Warren Hastings. Similar notions could be traced among the Company's agents in the Dutch East Indies pretty early in their history.

The growth of this idea synchronises with the liberalising movements of the nineteenth century and received a stimulus such as it had not before. Matters relating to the government of the colonies were coming more and more to the front and constituted one of the factors in the international politics of the times. The Great War naturally gave additional importance to the question, and the peace that followed the world struggle naturally gave to the problem a wider, more sympathetic and a somewhat altered outlook on the part of the nations taking part in the Geneva Con-

ference. The dawning of the idea of world peace naturally emphasises the position of colonial powers in respect of their responsibilities to the territories that they hold in charge. This received recognition in article 22 of the Covenant, where states in contact with European nationalities which were not able, in the opinion of the Conference, to stand independently on their own legs were to be held in trust by the powers which were associated with them before in that way, but were hereafter to hold them actually as trusts for the administration of which they were accountable to the Conference as a whole. This is the idea that is known as the Mandatory system. Asiatic and African states had been put under mandate with various European countries with the specific direction that they were to exercise their mandatory power with the definite object of fitting them for taking charge of their own affairs themselves, and perhaps even playing their part in the League of Nations as a world power. The problem therefore is clear that whatever European power held possessions in the East or Africa, held those possessions not in their own interests, but in the interests of their charges. The problem therefore is, from the point of view of this altered position, how exactly these colonial powers should carry on their governments with the specific object of fitting their charges to become responsible powers themselves. The work under review studies this problem historically, and politically as a problem for the future. In the first volume the position is considered generally. The condition of these countries is examined historically first of all to analyse and discover the ideas and institutions of these countries which are capable of development for this purpose. This necessarily involves the understanding of their nature, the analysis necessary for the discovery of such features as there may be, that give them a common ground for a higher development than they had so far shown, and how exactly these, perhaps as yet undeveloped powers, could be harnessed to the actual purpose of their future. Secondly there is a consideration of the responsibility of the mandatories to understand their position, guide them sympathetically with a view to enable their perfecting themselves so far as to take over the position of responsibility from the mandatory powers. These questions are dealt with with sufficient elaboration and learning to give a clear lead in respect of the solution of the problem calling for solution by the responsible powers. There is an admirable wealth of detail, clear and careful analysis and presentation of the features worth developing, and an equally indubitable indication of the lines along which colonial power must proceed with

a view to achievement of this ultimate object. The second volume is devoted to a consideration in detail of what the Dutch have been able to do in their possessions in the East. We shall reserve that for the next issue of the journal.

The work as a whole is an important contribution to the solution of the problem that confronts the world now. The whole of the East is in a ferment. The adjustment of the relations between the West and the East is becoming one of very great complexity and delicacy. It is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory solution whether the Eastern states concerned be under the mandatory system historically or by agreement, or whether they be under national governments of their own. The problem is of the same character for both, and the ultimate solution will have to be similar if the character of the guiding power does make, as it should, an essential difference in the actual character of the solution adopted. We welcome therefore this elaborate study of the subject as a timely contribution of the utmost current importance.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER SIR MARK CUBBON,

1834—1861.

By

Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.,

(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)

This is the work done by the author as the Sir William Meyer Student in the University of London during the period 1929-1931. The work covers that period of the British administration of Mysore covered by the Commissionership of Sir Mark Cubbon, which came to an end in 1861, the British administration continuing for twenty-two years afterwards before the state was restored to the late Maharaja of Mysore under the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It is a well known historical fact that Lord William Bentick as Governor-General found that the administration of Mysore under the Treaty of Srirangapatam did not fulfil expectations, and that matters were allowed to become bad enough to warrant the East India's Company's government assuming the responsibilities of the

administration instead of the Maharaja. In the words of Bentinck himself "it is clear that the territory of Mysore was made over to the Raja in trust to be managed as a dependency of the British Empire in India and under the responsibility of the British nation to the people of the tract so assigned that it should be well governed. It is in the discharge of this responsibility of the British Governor-General that the Governor-General assumed authority and put the whole of the administration under a British commission to carry on the administration in a way to fulfil the responsibilities of the British Government.* This, however, involved the additional responsibility of the administration being carried on agreeably to the feelings of the Maharaja, whose authority to that extent had been superseded. The responsibility therefore vested with the Government of India to choose a Commissioner, whose qualifications were such as would enable him to discharge these delicate responsibilities satisfactorily. The choice of the Governor-General fell on Sir Mark Cubbon. His first task lay in the restoration of peace, law and order. Then he was to gradually reform the administration so as to ensure an efficiently stable and orderly government to the people. This involved naturally his taking steps to assure the material and moral progress of the people so as to enable them to take their share in the growth of the general prosperity of India. Cubbon came into office and, as soon as he was able to look about himself and feel certain of his way, he began conservatively to proceed with the administration continuing the system organised by Purnayya and continued under the Maharaja after the termination of his regency. He adopted deliberately a conservative policy and slowly led the administration change its character from that, under the individual rule of the Maharaja, to that of a system—a system assimilable to that of the British administration of the rest of the country. He was able to do it with so much success that when the time had come, he had practically succeeded in transforming the administration into something like a regular British administration of the surrounding provinces. People of Mysore that are old enough to remember something of this administration speak in unqualified praise of the Administration of Sir Mark Cubbon, whose statue now adorns the Cubbon Park in Bangalore and is placed in front of the public offices, popu-

* "Lord William Bentinck afterwards came to believe that he had been to some extent misled by exaggerated reports of oppression in Mysore, but the Company declined to reverse the sequestration."

F. E. Roberts: The History of British India, p. 468. See also p. 305.

larly known as the Aṭāra Katchēri, the eighteen offices, an old name for a new institution.

Dr. Venkatasubba Sastri has carried out this work of transformation of the old into the new system by a careful study of the documents bearing upon the period. The bibliography covers six pages and carries us through original documents including confidential and other correspondence in the Political and Foreign Departments of the India Office and corresponding Record Offices in India, and brings it down to such recent authorities as the Gazetteer of Mysore by Rice, The Ten Years Native Rule in Mysore of Mr. Shama Rao, and even a work like that of Mr. Yegnanarayana Aiyar's "A Century and a Quarter of Mysore Agriculture." He has adopted more or less the principle of letting his authorities speak, and has brought to bear on it practically all the documents of value. He has so arranged them as to provide interesting reading, and give the impression to the reader of a continuous account—a creditable achievement from the historian's point of view. Every statement is supported by authorities, and precise references are given to the authorities. The account which covers 237 pages is followed by the bibliography referred to already, and eight appendices, A to H, bearing on the most important vital topics. The author set before himself the following three objects: (1) the continuation of Wilks' History of Mysore by including in it this period; (2) to set in relief the character of the persons responsible for this administration as an illustrious example of the Munro type of Indian administrator; and (3) thereby exhibiting the contribution of a Manxman for securing the welfare of a part of the Indian population. The publication was made possible by financial assistance given by the University of London, the Mysore Government and the Mysore University and by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. The publication does credit to the author. The well known publishers share the credit in bringing it out in such a good form.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALĀ'U'D-DIN KHILJI BEING THE KHAZĀ' INUL FUTUH (TREASURES OF VICTORY) OF HAZRAT AMIR KHUSRAU OF DELHI

translated into English with notes and parallel passages from other Persian writers.

By

Muhammad Habib, Professor of History,

Muslim University, Aligarh,

and with an Historical Introduction by

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.

(*Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay*—pp. XXXIX & 131.)

Amir Khusrau of Delhi was one of the greatest figures in the reign of Sultan Alā'u'd-din Khilji, who was, in the words of the contemporary historian, Ziauddin Barni, "unequalled for the volume of his writings and the originality of his ideals and conspicuous in every department of letters." The great Indo-Muslim scholar of recent times, Maulana Shibli Nomani, has been very generous in his estimate of the poet. Amir Khusrau was Indian-born; and his literary output in Hindi was deemed to have been as extensive as his work in Persian. He was a courtier as well as an army officer; and his experience as a captive of the Mongols, short as it was, has given us one of the finest pen-pictures of those invaders. The author who has given us a readable account of the poet's life and works in another publication of his—*Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*—says that the poet was active from the reign of Balban; but the twenty years of Alā'u'd-din Khilji's reign formed the most productive period of his life. His literary activity lasted to the close of the reign of the first Tughlak sovereign. The poet died in 1325 A.D., a few months after the demise of his good counsellor and friend, Shaikh Nizamuddin, one of the best known of Indo-Muslim mystics, whose tomb, besides which the poet himself lies buried, has survived the political and military

shocks of six centuries and more, and is still frequented by Hindus and Mussalmans alike.

Amir Khusrau's voluminous works are divided into five groups, of which his historical *masnavis* may be noticed in this place. One has for its theme the meeting of Sultan Muizzu'ddin Kaikobad with his father; another deals with the campaigns of Sultan Jalaluddin. The *Khazā'inu'l Futuh* is an official history of Alā'u'd-din's campaigns and is deemed by competent judges to illustrate very well the general character of the author's prose. The work contains much useful information, particularly as to the mode of warfare of the period and treats of the Sultan's campaigns in Warangal and Ma'bar regions with some disproportionate detail, relatively to the other measures of the reign. The style of the book is difficult, and each paragraph is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject: one is composed of words derived from architecture; another is based on words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand. The reader has to critically separate the element of fact from the colouring imparted to it by the author in order to bring in the inevitable allusions.

Amir Khusrau's book was, according to our author, a challenge to the *Fath-i-Namah* of Kabir'u'd-din, the court chronicler of the time whose work was very voluminous, but is not available now. Perhaps it had been intentionally destroyed during Timur's invasion, or under the early Mughal emperors, as it must have been full of contempt and hatred towards the Mongol barbarians. It is surmised by Professor Habib that Amir Khusrau completed perhaps Kabir'u'd-din's work which must have been left incomplete. Hence he devotes a disproportionate length of the work under review to the Deccan campaigns and makes it essentially a history of the Deccan invasions. The work is also a panegyric of the Sultan, and shows all the merits and defects of a government publication of the day. Allowing for its puerility and exaggeration, the work has the merit of being accurate in details and dates, and gives us a good idea of the art of war in the early middle ages. It presents a fairly accurate picture of 'jingoistic militarism of the first Muhammadan empire at its worst, Professor Habib suggests that Amir Khusrau had no liking for the vandalism of the Deccan Campaigns, nor for their commander, Malik Naib Kafur-i-Sultani'. He sees in the narrative that the poet plainly indicates that greed of gain, and not zeal for religion, was the inspiring motive of the invaders.

Amir Khusrau's work may be said to be a historical supplement to Barani who did not dilate upon the wars and conquests of the Khilji Sultan. As Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out in his valuable and exhaustive introduction, the narrative of the Warangal and Ma'bar campaigns by the poet, provides a satisfactory scheme of chronology without which these expeditions could hardly be understood. The Warangal campaign began in October 1309; and the army returned to Delhi after securing the submission of Pratapa Rudra Deva, in June of the following year. Amir Khusrau gives a lead to the determination of the topography and chronology of the campaign. The introduction marks out the route taken by the army on its forward march; it seems to have run very much as the railway road of to-day, with a probable diversion to the neighbourhood of Chanderi, and thence on to the Narmada and beyond. It points out how Amir Khusrau and Barani say that the army only touched the Devagiri frontier and did not reach the capital as is actually stated in Ferishta's account. The army took a more westerly route on its return march and probably passed through Ram Deva's capital. The second or Ma'bar campaign began in November, 1310. Devagiri was reached in the succeeding February, and Kharābābād of Paras Deo Dalvi (which was probably Pandarpur) was the place from which Malik Kafur made a dash on Dvāra Samudra, from which five marches took the invader to the frontier of Ma'bar, across two passes called Tarmali and Tabar and a river, Kanauri (Kaveri). Amir Khusrau plays upon the word Bir, (evidently Vira Pandya) whom the invader forced to flee from Birdhul to Kandur and thence to Jāt Kūta. The Mussalmans plundered the town of Brahmastpuri which was destroyed completely and, entering the Pāṇḍya country, set fire to the temple and palace of Madura. The introduction of Dr. Iyengar determines the probable route taken by the invaders to Dvāra Samudra and thence to the Chola country, Birdhul of Bir was evidently Jayamkonda-Chōlapuram whose importance was great in that period; and Kandur was undoubtedly Kaṇṇanūr on the northern bank of the Coleroon near Srirangam, important in Hoysala history. Jātkūta was perhaps Jālkōta, as Elliot read it; and the place could be identified with Tīvucotta at the mouth of the Coleroon which, in the days of the Cholas used to be called Jayaṁkoṇḍapattinam. Brahmastpuri was evidently Brahmapuri—Chidambaram, from which the army passed across Kam to Madura. From thence the Malik might have carried on a raid to Rameswaram; but it was unlikely that he built a mosque there. The note explaining all these identifications is valuable as a help to our

study of the first Mussalman invasions of South India. Professor Habib has given at the end translations from other writings bearing on the Deccan expeditions of Ala'u'd-din, an account of the Mughal invasions omitted by Amir Khusrau, and a chronology of the important expeditions of the Sultan. He has made available to students, an important contemporary narrative which enables a proper construction of the perspective and details of the first Mussalman campaigns in the South.

C. S. S.

MAHARANA PRATAP

By

Sri Ram Sharma,

(D. A. V. College Historical Monographs, No. 1.)

with a Foreword by A. C. Woolner.

(Published by the D. A. V. College Managing Committee,

Lahore—pp. IX & 151.)

Pratap Singh of Mewar who defied Akbar has been described, in his career and achievements, by Colonel Tod in Chapter XI of his *Annals of Mewar,* written more than a century ago; and by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his monumental *'History of Rajputana'*. Professor Sharma began this sketch before Pandit Ojha's volume dealing with Pratap Singh was published; but he has had the benefit of his corrections and suggestions. He begins with a brief account of the early history of Mewar. The bitter strife of Mewari Rajaputs with the Mussalmans began in 1296 and has been sustained by such heroes as Hamir, Kumbha and Sangram. Uadai Singh's reign was an unfortunate interlude in the glorious life of Mewar. Pratap had to succeed to his rightful inheritance only by a *coup,* setting aside his younger brother, Jagma, who had been nominated by his father. By patriotic severity, Pratap rendered the plains of his kingdom of no value to Akbar, and rejected his proferred friendship conveyed through the astute Raja Man Singh. Professor Sharma relies more on Rajput accounts than on the partial Mughal historians for the material for the narrative of the meeting between the Maharana and Man Singh. The failure

of this mission hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalised the name of Pratap. The battle of Haldighat is claimed as a victory for the Rajaputs by the Hindu accounts and by an inscription in the Jagadish Temple at Udaipur, dated 1652, two verses of which describe the struggle. The following struggles lasted till 1587; but they were fruitless in so far as they failed to rein in Pratap's fiery opposition even in the midst of the greatest distress. The brave Rajput died in 1597, unbroken yet by Mughal hostility, but anxious as to the heritage of independence which he had to bequeath to unworthy successors.

According to Professor Sharma, it was Pratap that made guerilla warfare the backbone of resistance to the Mughals. He should be given a higher place than Rana Sanga, as he taught the Rajputs the lesson of unity in which they so much lacked. He taught them the supreme art of protracting resistance, so as to have the chance of succeeding ultimately. The work under review also pays high tribute to the hero's sense of humanity, and his great capacity for organisation which, supplemented by the appeal he made to religion, turned to assure liberty to Rajputana. The style is pleasing and continuous; though the documentation is not as satisfactory as it might have been. The errata could well have been smaller.

C. S. S.

THE KADAMBA KULA, A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL KARNATAKA

By

George M. Moraes, M.A.,

with a preface by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

Bombay, B. X. Furtado and Sons, 1931—pp. xiii and 504.

This volume is the fifth of the series of Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay and forms the thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts. Mr. Moraes secured the Chancellor's Medal for this thesis; he is one of the prominent research scholars working under Father Heras and brought out some years ago a

small brochure on the history of Mangalore in which he outlined the fortunes of that ancient place from the time of the monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes, down to the fall of Tipu Sultan. Now the subject of this work is the history of the Kadamba dynasty which played an important part in South India for a number of centuries, supplemented by an account of the minor branches of the line, and a survey, cultural and geographical, of Western Karnataka. The historical methodology followed is elaborate and accurate, and is marked by careful and adequate documentation and fairly cautious interpretation. The author first concerns himself with the pre-Kadamba history of Kuntala, *i.e.* western Deccan and the northern frontier of Mysore, from the times before the Christian era to the Chūṭu-Śātavāhanas. The beginnings of the Kadamba line are mixed up with various legends; and the bulk of scholarly opinion will make the dynasty an indigenous one, which was, later on, admitted to Brahmanical status. According to Mr. Moræs the pretension of northern descent for the line was for the first time put forward in two grants of Harikēsari Deva of 1053 and 1055 A.D., when the Kadambas had re-established their power after an eclipse of over three hundred years. The well-known Talgunḍa inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the dynasty with Mayūraśarma who was anointed to the throne by Shaḍānana, after meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. He would hold that the tradition of the emigration of the Brahmans from the north, as related in the Halsi plates of Kākustha, Mayūrasarmma's great-grandson, is lacking in sound historical basis, as it directly contradicts the evidence of the Taḷgunḍa record that the Kadambas were a Brahman family.

The Kadamba line continued independent till the 6th century and during this period they claimed to have performed many *aśvamēdhas*. It was united by marriage to other prominent ruling families. Mr. Moræs explains the alliances with the Vākātakas and the Guptas that the Kadambas entered into. He would support Rice's date for Kākusthavarmma (end of the 4th century) and also the contemporaneity of Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta, Pulikesi Chalukya and Bhogivarmma Kadamba; and that Avinīta Ganga was at least partly a contemporary of Ajavarmma, the son of Krishnavarmma II. Of course he is cautious enough to note that the period of rule assigned to kings before Śāntivarmma is largely suppositional based on the assumption that Mayūravarmma ruled about 345 A.D., about the time of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and that about 80 years elapsed between the

foundation of Kadamba rule and the accession of Kākusthavarma whose grant issued from Palāśika is dated in the 80th victorious year.

The succeeding part of the book deals with Banavasi under foreign domination that lasted for over two centuries and a half, till the Hangal Kadamba line was founded by Irivabēḍanga and by his son Chaṭṭa-deva. The Hangal rulers soon made themselves independent of their Chalukya overlords; and by the end of the 11th century they had become masters of the Banavasi territory as well. They resisted the overwhelming power of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala, became involved in the Kāḷachurya usurpation and struggled continuously with the successors of Vishnuvardhana. But the Kadamba power was finally shaken by the invasion of Malik Kafur; and though it survived for a number of years after this, its end was not far removed from that of the Hoysalas.

The rule of the Goa Kadambas began also in the latter part of the 10th century. Chandrapura (the modern Chandur) was their first capital. They soon became masters of the whole of the Konkan, taking advantage of the dissensions between the two branches of the Śilāhāra dynasty. They cherished the town of Goa which had Muhammadan traders living in it even in the 11th century A.D. and which was made the capital in the time of Jayakēsi I. From some Kadamba inscriptions we get an idea of the splendour of Goa, "the abundant happiness of which surpasses the paradise of India." Malik Kafur is interpreted by Mr. Moraes as having overrun the whole of the sea-coast of the Konkan, as far as Rāmesvar, *i.e.* Cabo de Rama south of Goa, where he caused a mosque to be constructed. According to Ferishta, Malik Kafur built a mosque in the country of the Karnatak, "at the port of Dhur Samandar on the shore of the sea of Ummam"; and it is likely that he made a raid to the west coast from the capital of the Hoysalas. Ferishta's "Prince of Ma'abir" is equated with the Kadamba ruler who concluded a defensive alliance with Ballala Deva III, Hoysala. Chandrapura was sacked by the Muhammadans under Muhammad Tughlaq; and the Sindabur of Ibn Batuta which was obviously Chandrapura, was finally stormed by the Muhammadan troops of Honowar, thus ending Kadamba rule over the Konkan which had lasted well-nigh three centuries.

Mr. Moraes next traces the fortunes of the minor Kadamba branches of Bayalnad, Belur, Bankapur and Nagarkhand, and also

of another stock of rulers with the cognomen Khedi who ruled as feudatories in distant Kalinga, where their fief of Panchavishaya can be equated with a part of the present Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District. A large amount of space is also devoted to the culture of the Kadambas and their country. Mr. Moræs is emphatic about the non-Aryan origin of the phallic cult which originally prevailed in the land along with the worship of the Nāga. The later rivalry of Śaivism and Jainism is traced; and the beginnings of the Vīra-Śaiva movement are also just mentioned. Epigraphic evidence of administrative features is largely made use of, particularly as regards the sources of revenue, the powers of the feudatories and the organisation of the royal secretariat. We have also a picture of the system of military organisation that prevailed and of the details of educational and charitable endowments, like *agrahāras* and *mutts*. The treatment of the art of warfare is too general to be of strictly local application in many respects. The utilisation of sculpture reliefs and friezes of war-scenes is supposed to be based on the manner in which the battles were fought in the sculptors' own days. Details are given of the walls of the fortresses and of their ramparts and bars. Many of the *agrahāras* seem to have been state foundations; and of these the most important was that of Sthānakuṇḍūr (Taḷguṇḍa) whose origin is associated with Mukkaṇṇa and thirty-two Brahman families from Ahichchatra that he invited to settle therein. The actual work of administration of the *agrahāra* devolved on the assembly of the *Mahājanas* presided over by an officer and controlling all the properties that were attached to it. The *agrahāras* sometimes contained *maṭhas* of Jainas and Bauddhas. A peculiar institution was the *Brahmapuri*, a settlement of learned Brahmans in a town, which had not the corporate organisation possessed by an *agrahāra*. What Mr. Moræs would deem to be the Kadamba style of architecture is the earliest style of which specimens are known in Karnātaka and which has few things in common either with the Chalukya or with the Pallava styles. The early Kadamba temple was naturally derived from the primitive structures of the Āndhrabhrityas. The style is shown to have evolved from the primitive *basti* at Halsi, through the Śaiva temple at Taḷguṇḍa and other "intermediary" fanes, to the finished Kamala-Nārāyaṇa Temple at Degamue. Hoysala temples were influenced by the Kadamba style. The school of sculpture developed in Southern Konkan under the Goa Kadambas deserves mention, as having influenced Hoysala sculptors.

A very good feature of the book is that in Part VIII which furnishes an exhaustive table of towns, places and their importance mentioned in the epigraphical records comprehended in the Kadamba kingdom, supplemented by a note on its extent during the different periods of Kadamba rule. Stress is laid on the significance of the Kadamba coinage which is supposed to mark a definite step from punch-marked pieces to coins with different designs on the obverse and the reverse. Some unpublished inscriptions utilised by the author are given with their English translations, as an appendix. The treatment is more elaborate than the one ordinarily found in similar monographs; and the conclusions, though expressed in a few cases with over-emphasis, are generally cautious and sound.

C. S. S.

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS

SITA RAM KOHLI,

Monograph No. 12. The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State—Being the Achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh

BY

ARJUN NATH SAPRU, M.A.

Monograph No. 14. Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan), edited with notes and introduction

BY

Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government and Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.

GENERAL EDITOR,

H. L. O. GARRETT, I.E.S.,

Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government.

The several monographs published by the Punjab Record Office embrace subjects of historical and administrative interest like the commissionership of John Lawrence in the Jullunder Doab, the development of the Judiciary in the Province from the date of its annexation and the building up of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Trial of Diwan Mul Raj is possessed of con-

siderable historical interest, as setting forth the circumstances under which the outbreak at Multan developed into the beginning of the Second Sikh War.

The life of Maharaja Gulab Singh filled a large place in the history of Northern India in the 19th century, and his title to fame was established firmly some years before he became the ruler of Kashmir. The thesis of Mr. Arjun Nath Sapru traces in outline the history of the chief principalities which comprise the present Kashmir State and to preface it with the biographical sketch of the hero of the achievement. J. D. Cunningham and other earlier writers showed an unreasonable hatred of Raja Gulab Singh whom they deemed to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Sikh State. The acquisition of the Jammu Raj by Gulab Singh by formal grant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was in 1822; and it was followed by the securing of Ladakh and Kashmir and the conquest of other small adjacent territories. Mr. Sapru traces in outline the history of the Jammu Raj, from the time of Ranjit Dev, on through the period of Sikh occupation, and follows it up with a sketch of the process of expansion carried into effect by Gulab Singh till 1846 when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed. Gulab Singh achieved his aims by the exercise of much cruelty and unscrupulous guile for which he was notorious. After the First Sikh War, Gulab Singh cherished hopes of securing for himself the Viceroyalty of Lahore; but the English offered him no support for his accession to their office. Cunningham's opinion that the English bargain with Gulab Singh "scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness" is met by Mr. Sapru by the plea that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British province in less than three years; and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh *durbar* by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. "The low state of Lal Singh to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General, to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh."

The monograph under review then shows that the English were not ignorant of the importance of Kashmir; and their annexation of it in 1846 would have been neither politic, nor justifiable without their simultaneous annexation of the Punjab. The object, of the so-called 'Sale of Kashmir' on the British side was ex-

pressed correctly by Sir Richard Temple when he wrote that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh, and, thus, effectively to weaken it. The temptation of levelling sarcastic taunts at the British Government has been, however, too much for most writers.

Gulab Singh strove very hard to consolidate his authority in Kohistan and Kashmir; but we read in the book how his enemies took advantage of every opportunity to spread venom and prejudice against him and how the Lahore Durbar could be justly convicted of complicity in the rebellion of the Governor of Kashmir. The work of demarcating the frontiers of the British Government, the Lahore Durbar and Gulab Singh has also been noticed as well as the attempt to define the frontier between Ladakh and Chinese Tartary.

The second monograph is from the facile pen of Mr. Sita Ram Kohli and treats of an episode of which the original English record disappeared many years ago, and which has been based on a booklet containing a copy of the English proceedings of the trial and on a copy of the journal, "Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London," which contained verbatim reports of the proceedings of the trial. There is a good and interesting introductory notice of Diwan Mul Raj and his governorship, the difficulties that forced him to resign his office as well as of the complicated incidents that led to the attack on Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, and the subsequent outbreak. The introduction contains also a good summary of Mul Raj's trial, the charges preferred against him, the points urged in his defence, the reply of the prosecution and some observations on the trial. Diwan Mul Raj's troubles began when Raja Lal Singh was appointed prime minister at the Lahore Durbar; and he submitted his resignation of office in December 1847, though he consented to continue at his post for some time longer. When the riot at Multan developed into a rebellion, there was considerable delay in the despatching of troops from Lahore; and this was taken advantage of by Mul Raj who entered into correspondence with Amir Dost Muhammad of Kabul and some of the leading Sikh *sardars*.

During this delay, several occurrences took place, like the rebellion of Chattar Singh, the Nazim of Hazara, which exasperated the Sikh chieftains and army, and drove them into the rebellion, just when the exploits of Edwardes had made it appear almost hopeless. The final surrender of Mul Raj was made only when the last hope of defending Multan had vanished; and his

letter of submission which was discovered by Mr. Kohli from a heap of vernacular papers is printed as Appendix F. Sir Herbert Edwardes wrote in his "A year on the Punjab Frontier" that "on Mul Raj alone rests the awful responsibility of the war which followed"; but "it must ever remain a subject of satisfaction that he was not denied the 'justice in open court' which he first sought and then refused". Mul Raj had several sympathisers; and Sir John Lawrence was convinced that he could not have had much to do with the original outbreak. The noble-minded Captain Hamilton, defence counsel in the trial, proves almost convincingly that the first disturbance was only due to a popular tumult and mutiny, and that the Diwan was not in league with the troops at all. He was of the view that there was no deeply laid scheme to rouse the people and garrison of Multan to action; and also that the Diwan was not a British subject at the time of the crime and could have been best punished only as a rebel. The Second Sikh War and the annexation of the Punjab which formed the sequel of the rebellion at Multan were purified and hallowed by the shock of battle and the smoke of roaring cannon. The *fons et origo* of the whole was the luckless Mul Raj who became the incapable conjuror, seized and devoured by the unchained spirits of revolution. Mul Raj was found guilty, sentenced to death, mercifully reprieved and transported, but died before he could be banished. Perhaps it might be said that Lord Dalhousie caused him to be tried at last, after the war had been added to his crimes and when no guarantee of a trial had been given him; and also perhaps it was judged that to offer a trial to him was superfluous and would bear the undignified appearance of an overture from a power which never fails to observe strict justice; and thus the Governor-General disapproved of any terms whatever being offered to Mul Raj.

C. S. S.

TEXT BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

(From 1526 to the Present Day)

By

PROFESSOR S. C. SARKAR AND MR. K. K. DUTT,

Published by the Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932—pp. XVI, 277 & 176.

This book, written by two experienced teachers of Indian History, is intended for the use of undergraduates in our univer-

sities and is arranged on a plan which is commendable in some respects; the scheme of treatment is not exclusively chronological, but rational and natural, and supplies elementary data for criticism and judgment of evidence. The period surveyed in the two parts of the present volume, which will be supplemented by another, begins with the invasion of Babar and the establishment of Portuguese maritime dominion, both of which mark the advent of new conditions. It comes to a close at the end of the rule of Warren Hastings when the East India Company had become firmly established as an Indo-British power. The treatment is marked by frequent human touches like the presentation of personalities and notices of popular life and culture in their chief phases. The authorities quoted, though liable to be classified as secondary in most cases, are chosen with discrimination, and what is more to our point, such as can be read and understood by the undergraduate. Mostly books in English are quoted; and this is an additional facility for the students in the different parts of the country.

The Mughal empire is treated first with reference to the dynasty and succession to the throne, then from the point of view of imperialism and territorial expansion and of the frontiers, and lastly in relation to the various nationalities like the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs that reacted upon it. It must be said that, in a few places, the reviews and conclusions of the writers merely take the form of a bare summary of the views of scholars specialising on the topics. On the work of Shivaji, we have the rather indefinite conclusion that "his record is incomplete and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement." This view, while being cautious, may perhaps leave no definite impression of Shivaji's personality and achievments on the mind of the reader. The space devoted to early European enterprise is very meagre and a little out of proportion with the rest of the treatment. The Anglo-French struggle seems to be also a little too compressed; but the narrative is very clear and continuous. We wish that chronological tables and bibliographical lists and maps will be added to the next edition of this volume. It would serve as a great help to the undergraduate and the teacher of the secondary classes.

C. S. S.

GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

By

Bimala Churn Law, M.A., Ph.D.,

(with a foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Oxford, Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1932.)

A close student of the Pali Buddhist texts, Dr. B. C. Law is an authority on the history of early Buddhism in India. In a paper sent to the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference (1930) held in Lahore, I have tried to show that there was not any appreciable difference between early Buddhism and the established religion of the land. The same view point has been examined in detail in my *Mauryan Polity* (Madras University 1932), and the conclusion has been arrived at that both Buddhism and Jainism were merely different schools of Hinduism and the theory that Asoka was a Buddhist cannot be fully accepted. In the monograph under review Dr. Law shows his acquaintance with the Buddhist literature, canonical and non-canonical. With regard to topics like the Geography of the land, the Hindu and Buddhist writers practically agreed. If there is any difference in their statements, it is due to the fact that from time to time the boundary limits of the various states changed as a result of the constant feuds between the ruling chieftains. The limits of the Madhyadēśa, for example, in the time of Asoka cannot be the same as in the age of the *Kāvyamīmāmsa* with an intervening distance of several centuries. Thus the monograph on the geography of early Buddhism is really the geography of ancient India. The learned author of this monograph is aware of this when he largely draws matter of fact statements from the Dharma Sāstras, epics and inscriptions thus pointing to the coincidences or differences in detail. The book is divided into six chapters—the Madhyadēśa or the middle country, Uttarāpatha or North India, Aparāntaka or Western India, Dakṣināpatha or South India, Prāchya or the East India and lastly Ceylon, Burma and other Foreign countries. The data incorporated in the first chapter are full and detailed. The details furnished in the last three chapters of the book are meagre and sketchy. Among the Mahā-Jaṅapadas the Vajji or Vrijji is important. This kingdom is mentioned by the author of the Tamil classic Śilappadikāram of the second century A.D. But the absence of references thereafter goes to prove that the Vrijjian state which existed from the time

of Pāṇini, if not earlier, to the second century A.D. disappeared probably by the epoch of the Guptas.

In the chapter on the Dakṣiṇāpatha there are certain statements which are not correct. In p. 63 the Tamil kingdom is identified with the Malabar coast or Northern Ceylon. But really speaking it extended from the Malabar coast to Conjeeveram up to the frontiers of Nellore. In the same page again the extent of the ancient Chera kingdom is given. Here the chief division of this kingdom which comprised the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore has been omitted. The appendix on the Chaitya is interesting and all scholars will agree that originally Chaitya meant 'any sacred spot or edifice or sanctuary for popular worship.'

This well-written and well-documented treatise will serve a useful purpose and students of ancient Indian History will find it an invaluable reference book.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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J. H. Hutton—Races of Further Asia.

B. N. Datta—Observations on Some Oblique-shaped Indian Skulls.

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T. Grahame Bailey—Phonetic Notes on Urdu Records of Baqir Ali of Delhi.

T. Grahame Bailey—Early Hindi and Urdu Poetry IV (Pen Pictures by Banārsidas and Zatalli).

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Dr. W. F. Stutterheim—Old and New Art of Bali.

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A. Master—Some parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with especial reference to Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese.

W. Ivanow—An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Ray.

U. M. Dandpota and A. A. A. Fryzee—Notes on Mut'a or Temporary Marriage in Islam.

S. K. Aiyangar—Panchamahāsābda in Rājataraṅgiṇi.

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